

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1763)  
FROM: SA ROBERT H. CLAUDIUS  
SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,  
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)  
IS-C

DATE: 9/16/66

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	National Convention CP, U.S.A., held in New York, 6/22-26/66.	9/1/66	IC [REDACTED]	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant is not personally contacted by Agent personnel, but is an operative of [REDACTED] All problems of identity, therefore, must be resolved through contact with [REDACTED] Report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

- CC: 39 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)
- 100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100-9595 [REDACTED]
- 100- (JOE NORTH)
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100-27539 (CARL WINTER)
- 100- (HELEN WINTER)
- 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
- 100-15946 [REDACTED]
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS)

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100-66078-984  
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SERIALIZED FILED  
SEPT. 16 1966  
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RHC:LAL (147) [Signature] Read by [Signature]

LA 100-1763

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100- ( )  
100-105078 (HY LUMER)  
100-13472 (GIL GREEN)  
100- (PAUL HOFFMAN)  
100- ( )  
100-13473 (SIMON GERSON)  
100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)  
100- ( )  
100- ( )  
100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)  
100- ( )  
100- (PAUL NOVICK)  
100-128255 ( )  
100- ( )  
100- ( )  
100- ( )  
100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)  
100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)  
100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT TORMEY)

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b7c

1 - SAN DIEGO (REGISTERED)

100- ( )

14 - SAN FRANCISCO (REGISTERED)

100- ( )  
100- (ARCHIE BROWN)  
100- ( )  
100- ( )  
100- (AL RICHMOND)  
100- ( )  
100-25215 (ROSCOE PROCTOR)  
100- ( )  
100- ( )  
100- ( )  
100- ( )  
100- (JOE HARRIS)  
100- ( )

100- (BETTINA APTHEKER)  
100- ( )

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LA 100-1763

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100- [REDACTED]  
100-8482 [REDACTED]  
100- [REDACTED]
- 3 - DENVER (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]  
100- [REDACTED]  
100- [REDACTED]
- 2 - PITTSBURGH (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED] (female)  
100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - BALTIMORE (REGISTERED)  
100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 8 - CHICAGO (REGISTERED)  
100-17828 [REDACTED]  
61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
100- [REDACTED]  
100-40238 [REDACTED]  
100- [REDACTED]  
100-13967 [REDACTED]  
100- (GEORGE MORRIS)  
100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - DALLAS (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]
- 5 - CLEVELAND (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED] 100- [REDACTED]  
65-721 (ANTON KRCHMAREK)  
100- (PHIL BART)  
100- (FRED BLAIR)

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LA 100-1763

COPIES CONTINUED:

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100- [REDACTED]
- 3 - SAN ANTONIO (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]  
100- [REDACTED]  
100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - MINNEAPOLIS (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - MOBILE (REGISTERED)  
100- (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
- 2 - NEWARK (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]  
100- (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - TAMPA (REGISTERED)  
100- (PATRICK TOOHEY)
- 1 - WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - PHILADELPHIA (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]
- 2 - SEATTLE (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]  
100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - BOSTON (REGISTERED)  
100- [REDACTED]

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LA 100-1763

COPIES CONTINUED:

100-26044	(ORGANIZATION)	100-65227	(W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)
100-24351	(SECURITY MEASURES)	100-30439	(WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)
100-4486	(DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI)	100-61652	(SI)
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100-47203	(SI)	100-48478	(SI)
100-56602	(SI)	100-25365	(STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
100-24346	(YOUTH MATTERS)	100-24348	(FARMERS MATTERS)
100-55973	(COMINFIL LABOR UNIONS)	100-66078	(CIRM)
100-67449	(DELANO GRAPE STRIKE)	100-55203	(MARCH ON WASHINGTON)
157-1446	(TALO)	100-24349	(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
100-23901	(EDUCATION)	100-55887	(COMINFIL MASS ORGS.)
100-23423	(POLITICAL ACTIVITY)	157-1503	(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
100-48290	("POLITICAL AFFAIRS")	100-26047	(WOMEN'S MATTERS)
100-63822	(SNCC)		

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ACTION:

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

[REDACTED]

LA 100-1763

INDEXING (Continued)

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_

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JOE BROWN  
BLACK PCWER

JUNE 22/26, 1966

TOPIC: 8<sup>th</sup> NATIONAL CONVENTION, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.  
Held in New York above dates.

Before going into the report of the convention let me establish some thinking on what lines the report will follow. First, I will list the names of people that I came across during the convention. Many of the people who spoke at the convention and many people who were introduced to me only their first name was given. I am listing these names first and give what State they came from which possibly might be the key as to their identity. One list is the Los Angeles delegation which I find was supplemented by some youth who came from the W.E.B. DuBOIS CLUBS of AMERICA convention held in Chicago previous to the national convention of the Cp\*U.S.A. These people sat on the floor with the Los Angeles delegation.

The second large group is the Spanish speaking panel.

The report will follow the continuity of day-to-day activity and who the chairmen were for the different days. There is a discrepancy in the number of delegates and the number when you break it down as to nationalities and observers and this is because, as I understand, the delegates given to the press and the number of observers were upped from the actual delegation of people who were there. In other words, you will find conflicting numbers when you add them up in the sense as to what was given to the press and who was actually there.

Relative to the voting for members of the national committee: A ballot was put out with about 93 names on it. Some names were added and you were to vote for 80 of them. When it came time to announce who was elected to the national committee they only announced those who were NOT elected and they did not say who was elected. So the names submitted are the ones who were NOT elected. I was unable to obtain a ballot because they were very closely guarded and they were numbered and had to be turned in. This should tend to set the tempo for the report.

On the date of JUNE 22-26, 1966 The NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION was held in New York. The protocol for going to the convention was that a delegate arriving in New York was to go to the National Headquarters of the COMMUNIST PARTY-U.S.A., 23 West 26th Street, New York City, N.Y., Mutual 5-5755. At that point he registered as a delegate on the lower floor. There was a locked door and after he had registered as a delegate he was allowed to go thru this door. On the second floor was the Housing Committee. Enclosed is a mimeograph copy of the housing for one of the delegates who attended the national convention.

Upon entering you were issued a blue card which indicated you were a delegate and there was a white card which indicated that you

June 22/26, 1966

were an alternate. After receiving your delegate card you were then directed to go to WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11th Street, where the delegates gathered to hear a report by GUS HALL. That report is in mimeograph form and is submitted along with this report.

During the course of the convention the following persons were encountered and introduced to me:

FROM CALIFORNIA:

DOROTHY HEALEY



BEN DOBBS

WILLIAM (Bill) TAYLOR



(Valley)

BOB DUGGAN

WILLIAM (Bill) JAMES

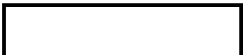


BETTY GANNETT TORMEY

ROSE CHERNIN



- Negro singer who opened the convention by singing the National Anthem.



- From Santa Barbara



(Negro)



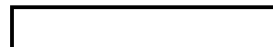
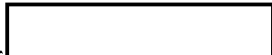
and his wife,



A youth who attended the DuBOIS CLUB convention in Chicago.



who stayed only one day and because of the extreme heat returned to Los Angeles.



From Northern California.

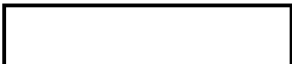
These people sat at the table designated for Southern California.

OTHER PEOPLE MET DURING THE CONVENTION WERE:

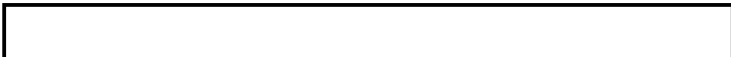
ARCHIE BROWN



Sante Fe, New Mexico. Phone: 87501.



who spoke at the convention and was introduced as the Senator from Chile (name of city not clear).



Oakland. Phone: 841-8301.

A delegate from Northern California. She is the daughter of [redacted] of Northern Calif.

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June 22/26, 1966

[redacted] of the Thursday Session, June 23, 1966.

[redacted] - From Michigan.

[redacted] - From New York.

[redacted] - From San Jose, California. White, Cauc. who played a very active role on the Spanish panel at the convention.

WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE - From New York.

JOE NORTH - From New York.

[redacted] - From Colorado.

[redacted] - From New York.

[redacted] - From New Mexico.

[redacted] - From West Virginia. A Female.

JAMES (Jim) ALLEN

[redacted] - A Harlem youth PARTY LEADER who chaired part of the Thursday session, 6-23-66.

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CARL WINTER and HELEN WINTER. HELEN WINTER chaired the Friday Session, June 24, 1966.

AL RICHMOND

JAMES JACKSON

[redacted]

[redacted] - From New York.

[redacted] - From the National.

GEORGE MEYERS - - From Baltimore.

[redacted] - From Chicago, Ill.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[redacted] - From Texas.

[redacted] - From Washington.

[redacted] - Northern California.

[redacted] - From New York. Chairman for the Saturday and Sunday sessions.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

[redacted]

VIC RESO -New York.

June 22/26, 1966

Mr. & Mrs. [ ] - Introduced as Charter members of the Communist Party.

ROSCOE PROCTOR - [ ] of [ ] from No. California.

[ ] - From New York.

[ ] [ ] - From Michigan.

[ ] - Female Negro. From Northern California.

[ ] - From New York.

[ ] - From Ohio. Chairman of the Saturday Session.

[ ] - Wife of [ ].

GEORGE MORRIS [ ] From Michigan.

[ ] - From Illinois. HENRY WINSTON

[ ] Chairman of the Sunday Session. From New York.

PHIL BART - From Ohio. [ ] - No. Calif.

[ ] - Female Negro from Oakland, about 18 1/2 yrs. old. Led the Hotel strike in San Francisco.

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[ ] National PARTY youth leader.

JOE HARRIS - Youth. [ ] of [ ]

[ ] - From Chicago, Ill.

HY LUMER GIL GREEN PAUL HOFFMAN

[ ] - From Northern California. [ ] - Massachusetts.

[ ] - From Northern California. [ ] - From Chicago.

[ ] - From Mass. [ ] - New York.

SIMON GERSON - From New York. [ ] - Chicago.

[ ] Washington State. [ ] of HELEN WINTER.

GUS HALL HENRY WINSTON HERBERT APTHEKER

FOLLOWING ARE THOSE WHO ATTENDED the SPANISH SPEAKING CAUCUS:

[ ] - Puerto Rico. [ ]

[ ] of the Communist Party in Puerto Rico.

June 22/26, 1966

(CP-USA Nat'l Conv).

SPANISH SPEAKING CAUCUS, cont'd:

[redacted] - Dominican youth who had attended the DuBOIS convention in Chicago.

[redacted] - From New York.

[redacted] - From New Mexico. (Irish)

[redacted] AKA: [redacted] of [redacted] He came from San Antonio, Texas with his wife. This name is used for writing articles in POLITICAL AFFAIRS of June, 1966 in which he wrote an article on the Mexican-American. This is the same person.

[redacted] - Negro. From Oakland.

[redacted] - A Puerto Rican from New York.

[redacted] - From California. [redacted] From Texas. [redacted] of

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[redacted] - From Denver, Colorado. A Mexican. [redacted] of [redacted]

[redacted] - From San Jose.

[redacted] - From Denver, Colorado. A Mexican.

[redacted] - From San Antonio, Texas. A Mexican. He works for Montgomery Ward in San Antonio. Phone: 2-8881, Ext. 268.

SECURITY GUARDS for the CONVENTION:

[redacted] JOE BROWN

They were assisted by: [redacted] and [redacted].

\*\*\*\*

REPORT of the CONVENTION FOLLOWS.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

ACTIVITY: / 16TH NATIONAL CONVENTION of the COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

DATE : JUNE 22/26, 1966

PLACE : WEBSTER HALL, 119 East 11th Street, New York City, New York.

ATTENDANCE:

GUS HALL [redacted] JAMES ALLEN - New York

[redacted] of HELEN WINTER. APTHEKER, Bettina

HERBERT APTHEKER PHIL BART - Ohio. BRED BLAIR - Ohio.

[redacted], Santa Fe, New Mexico. Phone: New Mex. 87501.

[redacted] - No. Calif. ARCHIE BROWN - No. Calif.

JAKE BROWN - Chairman of the Thursday session, 6-23-66.

JOE BROWN - Security Guard for the Convention.

[redacted] - Massachusetts. [redacted] - California [redacted] of

[redacted] - California [redacted] - New York. Chairman of the Sunday Session.

[redacted] - A Mexican from San Antonio, Texas. Works for Montgomery Ward in San Antonio. Ph: LE 2-8881, Ext. 268.

ROSE CHERNIN - So. California. [redacted] - From New York.

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[redacted] - No. Calif. Female, Negress.

[redacted] - Michigan [redacted] - So. California.

[redacted] - So. Calif. [redacted] - Calif. - Negro.

DOBBS, Ben - So. Calif. BOB DUGGAN - So. Calif.

[redacted] - Security Guard for the convention.

[redacted] - California [redacted] - Calif. (Valley)

[redacted] New York. [redacted] - So. Calif.

SIMON GERSON - New York. GIL GREEN - New York

JOE HARRIS - Youth. [redacted] of [redacted] is from Los Angeles.

[redacted] - Los Angeles, Calif. HEALEY, Dorothy - So. Calif.



JUNE 22/26, 1966

[redacted] - A youth who attended the DuBOIS convention in Chicago.

PAUL HOFFMAN [redacted] [redacted] -Sta. Barbara

JAMES JACKSON - New York. [redacted] -Calif. WILLIAM(Bill) JAMES -Calif.

ARNOLD JOHNSON [redacted] - Minnesota-Dakotas,

[redacted] - Calif. [redacted] Cleveland, Ohio

[redacted] -Calif. [redacted] New Mexico

[redacted] - West Virginia. Female.

[redacted] - California. [redacted] - Ohio. Chairman of the Saturday session.

[redacted] - [redacted] of [redacted] From Ohio.

[redacted] - California. [redacted] (?) (or [redacted] -?)

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT - New York [redacted] - San Jose, Calif. White, Cauc. Played a very active role on the Spanish Panel at the convention.

HY LUMER - New York. [redacted] - New York.

[redacted] - San Diego. [redacted] - Speaker at the convention. She was introduced as a Senator from Chile (name of city not clear).

Mr. & Mrs. [redacted] - Charter members of the Communist Party.

[redacted] [redacted] - So. California.

[redacted] - From Puerto Rico.

GEORGE MEYERS - Baltimore, Maryland. [redacted] - California. (Only stayed one day because of the extreme heat & she returned to Los Angeles).

GEORGE MORRIS

[redacted] - [redacted] Oakland, California. PH: 841-8301. Delegate from No. Calif. She is the daughter of LORETTA BETTS nee JOHNSON of No. California.

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[redacted] - Dominican youth who had attended the DuBOIS CLUB convention in Chicago.

[redacted] - From New Jersey.

[redacted] No. Calif.

[redacted] - From New York.

[redacted], Esther-Calif.

PAUL NOVICK - From New York.

[redacted] - Chicago, Ill.

[redacted] - California.

[redacted] - Chicago

[redacted] - New York.

IRVING POTASH - New Jersey

ROSCOE PROCTOR - No. Calif. Husband of Virginia Proctor.

[redacted] - No. California.

[redacted] - New York.

AL RICHMOND - No. California.

[redacted] - Puerto Rican  
From New York.

[redacted] - Head of the Communist Party In Puerto Rico.

[redacted] - New York.

[redacted] - So. Calif.

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[redacted] - New York. Chairman of Saturday and Sunday sessions.

[redacted] Wife of [redacted] From Texas.

[redacted] - A youth from Texas.

[redacted] - So. Calif.

[redacted] - California

[redacted] AKA: [redacted] - Father of [redacted] Came from San Antonio, Tex. with his wife. [redacted] is the name he uses to write articles in Political Affairs. Has an article in the June, 1966 issue of PA on the Mexican-American - by [redacted].

[redacted] - Security Guard for the convention. He is from New York.

[redacted] - A Harlem youth PARTY leader who chaired part of the Thursday session, June 23, 1966.

WILLIAM (Bill) TAYLOR - So. California.

[redacted] - Florida

BETTY GANNETT TORMEY

[redacted] - Frm the Nat'l.

[redacted] - Mexican. From Denver, Colo.

[redacted] - Mexican. From Denver, Colo. Father-in-law of [redacted]

JUNE 22/26, 1966

[redacted] - A Dominican from New York.

[redacted] - Negro singer. He opened the convention by singing the National Anthem.

WILLIAM W. WEINSTEON - From New York.

[redacted] - From New York.

HENRY WINSTON - New York

CARL WINTER - New York

[redacted] - Chicago.

HELEN WINTER - Chaired the Friday session, 6-24-66.

[redacted] - National PARTY youth leader.

[redacted] . From New England.

[redacted] . From Michigan

[redacted] . From Maine

[redacted] .

[redacted] . Puerto Rican Woman.

[redacted] . Mass.

[redacted] . New York.

[redacted] . Chicago.

[redacted] . Illinois

b6  
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[redacted] . Eastern PA.

[redacted] . From West Virginia.

[redacted] . No. Calif.

[redacted] . From Washington

[redacted] . No. Calif.

[redacted] . From Washington, D.C.

[redacted] . New York

[redacted] . From Illinois.

[redacted] . No. Calif.

[redacted] . Female, Negress, from Oakland. About 18/19 yrs. of age. She led the hotel strike in San Francisco.

[redacted] . From Michigan.

On the night of WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 1966, the convention opened at WEBSTER HALL and the main business of the convention was the report by GUS HALL. At this opening the press was admitted and also the TV cameras. The cameras had made a contract with PARTY leaders that only the backs of the heads of the delegates would be taken. The main floor of the hall could only be entered by having a blue or a white card which indicated you were a delegate or alternate. Observers sat on the upper floor level. Your blue or white card was checked at two places: before entering the hall and secondly, on going up the stairs to the convention floor your card was checked again.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

The convention was adjourned after GUS HALL's report which took approx. three hours to read.

The following morning, THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1966, the convention assembled again and the chairman for this meeting was [redacted]. Here again you had to show your card to enter the floor. It was announced by [redacted] that anyone wishing to speak at the convention would have to submit his name in writing to the chair.

The main discussion for the morning session, 6-23-66, was a discussion of the GUS HALL report.

The first speaker was [redacted] from Michigan. He stated that the report needs to spell out the issues for the young workers who are not, at this time, interested in pensions and that he, in Michigan, works for the UNITED AUTO WORKERS and that a survey had been taken and the workers who are working in auto plants were young workers and every three months there is some sort of a change-over in the workers at these auto plants. He said that the question of auto workers was becoming sharper because the workers were experiencing hardships as a result of the cut-back of automobiles.

The next speaker was FRED BLAIR from Ohio. He agreed with GUS HALL's report but felt that the question of anti-monopoly needed strengthening.

BETTINA APTHEKER took the floor and said that the question of GUS HALL's report on youth was much too short. He should take into account the number of young people who are in the PARTY convention and the number of young people who are in other movements throughout the United States. She said that the society in which we live is in a crisis and it is the question of youth which will either solve this crisis or bring the full question of socialism to the forefront. It is the youth who are going to war and the youth who are being killed in the war. BETTINA said that the HALL report should make a complete estimate of the new Youth Movement which is taking place in the United States and determining the society in which we live.

GEORGE MEYERS was the next speaker. He said he had not had time to study the report or apply it but he agreed with GUS HALL that capitalism and the industrial revolution had to be developed further. He said that the technological revolution is now the grave digger of capitalism.

The next speaker was [redacted] from New York. He felt that the GUS HALL REPORT should have done more with the anti-Semitic question.

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JUNE 22/26, 1966

[redacted] of Northern California then spoke. He said he felt there should be more on civil rights in the report.

The [redacted] then reported that the following states were represented at this convention:

Northern and Southern California.

Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Washington, D.C., New England, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, North and South Dakota, New York, Montana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Oregon and Missouri.

There were 189 delegates present with 45 alternates.

It was MSC that there be a presiding committee composed of 35 people. The chairman announced that the following people had been lost through death since the 1959 convention:

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

EUGENE DENNIS

JACK STACHEL

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

[redacted]

[redacted]

THOMAS NABRIED

PETTIS PERRY

[redacted]

CLAUDIA JONES

V.J. JEROME

CLARENCE HATHAWAY

[redacted]

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WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE from New York then spoke. He said there is much work to be done relative to the attack against the COMMUNIST PARTY. There is not enough being done on PARTY work. There must be a new line of attack against the JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION. There must be a peace candidate and a new candidate in 1968. He dealt with the aristocrats of labor, and said that these union leaders who sit on their laurels and collect large salaries and do nothing must be dealt with. There must be education of the workers in socialism.

The convention then allowed a report on the culture question to be read by [redacted] (Copy is enclosed).

[redacted] from Colorado then spoke. He said he felt that GUS HALL should have gone into the question of low wages. He said that in Colorado there is an organization leader by the name of [redacted] (?), a Mexican-American, who is trying to raise the wages of the agricultural worker and that [redacted] had asked him, [redacted], to mention the work of the Mexicans in Colorado at the convention.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

[redacted] from New York then spoke. She spoke on the human question and said there was a need for the whole PARTY to take a look at the human question. It must be dealt with more adequately, not only GUS HALL's report, but in the program.

[redacted] from New Mexico then spoke. He said that the American working class must find itself in relationship to the COMMUNIST PARTY; a new outlook on the question of labor. We also should be cognizant of the fact that there is a religious movement in the United States and that we must deal with the question of the brotherhood of man and man's inhumanity to man when talking to the labor movement. Also, he said that the COMMUNIST PARTY movement should start to embrace the religious leaders and those in the civil rights movement. We must face the Catholic question because the Catholic youth have become class conscious. We must point out that there are two humanistic themes: one is MARXISM and the other is CHRISTIANITY, and they must come together for socialism.

[redacted] from West Virginia spoke. She said that the GUS HALL REPORT has slighted the miners which is the most poverty stricken area of American society.

JAMES (Jim) ALLEN then spoke. He agreed with the HALL REPORT in that the NEW LEFT is on the move but that the spontaneity of the movement of the NEW LEFT is not alone. There has to be a socialistic goal. We must deal with the question of labor's role which is extremely weak, not only in the DRAFT PROGRAM, but also in the HALL REPORT.

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At the afternoon session, THURSDAY, JUNE 23rd, [redacted] was the [redacted]. He said that two panels had been added to the panels which were going to be announced. There was the addition of a Spanish Panel and a woman's panel. He said the following people had been placed on the panels as follows:

RULES PANEL: BEN DOBBS

PRESS PANEL: ROSE CHERNIN and WILLIAM TAYLOR.

CONSTITUTION PANEL: [redacted] -From So. Calif.

RESOLUTIONS PANEL: CARL WINTER, ROSE CHERNIN and [redacted]

DRAFT PANEL: AL RICHMOND and JAMES (Jim) JACKSON.

PEACE PANEL: [redacted] and [redacted]

TRADE UNION PANEL: [redacted], HELEN WINTER and GEORGE MEYERS

NEGRO PANEL: [redacted] and CLAUDE LIGHT&  
FOOT.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

YOUTH PANEL : [redacted] - from Texas.  
WOMEN'S PANEL : [redacted] from Ohio; [redacted] from WASHINGTON;  
[redacted] from New York;  
[redacted] from No. Calif. and [redacted].  
SPANISH PANEL : [redacted] from So. California.  
POLITICAL AFFAIRS - POLITICAL ORGNS. - PRESS:  
DOROTHY HEALEY, [redacted] and [redacted].

The convention then continued.

[redacted] from New York then spoke on the culture report which was given by JOE NORTH. [redacted] felt that there should have been a panel on culture.

[redacted] from New York spoke. He said there must come a time when the COMMUNIST PARTY must deal with the organizing of the unorganized.

[redacted] from Main spoke and said that unless the Women's program is made part of GUS HALL's report and part of the PROGRAM, the PARTY cannot progress.

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The convention then broke up into panels.

From the SO. CALIF. AREA the following people went to the following panels:

LABOR PANEL : [redacted]  
POLITICAL ACTION PANEL: [redacted]  
NEGRO PANEL :: [redacted], ROSE CHERNIN, WILLIAM TAYLOR,  
[redacted] and [redacted]  
YOUTH PANEL :: [redacted]  
[redacted] and [redacted]  
SPANISH PANEL :: [redacted], BOB DUGGAN, [redacted], [redacted]  
[redacted] and [redacted]  
DRAFT PANEL :: [redacted] DOROTHY HEALEY, [redacted]  
BEN DOBBS.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

PARTY ORGANIZATION PANEL: [ ] and [ ].

At this point in the program CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT introduced "POP" [ ] and his wife as charter members of the Communist Party and they received a standing ovation.

[ ] spoke and said there is no such a thing as an old Communist or a new communist. There are just communists.

At this point the convention broke up into panels and lasted until 11:00PM. that evening.

On Friday, JUNE 24, 1966, the following resolutions were introduced:

The TRADE UNION RESOLUTION: [ ] from Northern California called for the organizing of the unorganized, especially in the Needle Trades. (Copy of this resolution is enclosed).

GEORGE MEYERS then spoke on the TRADE UNIONS. He gave the trade union report and read the resolution.

[ ] spoke on the question of GEORGE MEANY and said that the many mistakes the COMMUNIST PARTY has made on the Trade Union question must be straightened out.

[ ] spoke about the DELANO STRIKE. He told of the need for a conference in the the southwest of the five southwestern states to be held in the near future.

[ ] of Northern California, called for an alliance for all the different groups which are working to support the DELANO STRIKE.

ALLEN from Michigan spoke and said there is a need for more shop clubs and that the COMMUNIST PARTY must look at the new workers between the ages of 18 and 30 because companies are hiring the younger workers because of the speed-up. There is a need for a Negro labor alliance and there must be an equality of the alliances, not just one-sided.

[ ] from Northern California, a young Negro woman, said that the attitude of the minority people to labor unions was very bad and that in some cases it is necessary for the COMMUNIST PARTY to start looking for the building of all-Negro unions because some unions are not open to Negroes.

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JUNE 22/26, 1966

For the FRIDAY, JUNE 24th afternoon session [redacted] of Ohio was the chairman.

IT WAS MSC that the LABOR RESOLUTION be further developed and studied by the incoming NATIONAL COMMITTEE.4

It was MSC that the new resolution be developed by the new incoming NATIONAL COMMITTEE but that there be a limitation of two months, that is, that in two months there should be a resolution on the Trade Union question presented to the COMMUNIST PARTY.

It was MSC that there be a Trade Union Commission established with a Trade Union Secretary.

The next chairman was [redacted] from New York.

The NEGRO RESOLUTION was presented by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT which called for political alignment and called for a Negro-labor alignment and the power in the hands of the Negro people. It also called for the training of Negro women. He called for the end of white chauvinism in the PARTY. It called for inter-relation living with dignity. The NEGRO RESOLUTION which is part of the report was discussed by PHIL BART of Ohio, who called for Negro-white unity.

[redacted] from Washington, D.C. told of some of the ghetto situations which exist in Washington.

[redacted] from Northern Calif. related that on PAGE 7 of the RESOLUTION there is not sufficient analysis of the NEGRO QUESTION and does not deal with the national need to do away with ghettos.

WILLIAM (Bill) TAYLOR spoke on POLICE BRUTALITY and the question of getting rid of PARKER and YORTY. He called for the physical unity between Negroes and whites. He also called for the study of the new organization called TALO (TEMPORARY ALLIANCE of LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS) of which he is a part of.

BETTY GANNETT TORMEY spoke. She stated that she recognized that the fight for equality is the fight of all COMMUNIST PARTY members.

[redacted] from OAKLAND spoke and called for another MARCH on WASHINGTON again.

PAUL HOFFMAN from Northern California spoke. He related that jobs are the most important issue facing the NEGRO. It was MSC that the job struggle for Negro youth be part of the NEGRO RESOLUTION, and the NEGRO RESOLUTION was accepted.

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JUNE 22/26, 1966

The next report was on the YOUTH QUESTION and was given by BETTINA APTHEKER. (A copy of this report is enclosed with this report). After she read her resolution [redacted] a national youth leader for the Communist Party spoke, and said that the question facing youth is the unemployment question.

[redacted] from Eastern Pennsylvania then spoke and said that the PARTY must build up its youth movement.

[redacted] from Northern California then spoke. He said there must be communion between communist adults and communist youth.

HELEN WINTER from the National Office of the Communist Party then spoke and said that each delegate should examine why there are no adults on the youth panel.

[redacted] from Southern Calif. said it seems the Communist Party waits until the Negro Comrades complain and then they form some sort of a panel.

[redacted] from Chicago, Ill. said that the youth question in Chicago has become a predominant question and that the Chicago delegation put the youth question as number one.

[redacted] spoke. He said he saw weaknesses in the youth program and has voted against the YOUTH RESOLUTION.

[redacted] from West Virginia then spoke. She said that the youth are doing an outstanding job in developing the Communist Party in West Virginia.

[redacted] from So. Calif. spoke and said that the PARTY should take cognizance of the fact that the youth have special problems.

BOB DUGGAN from So. California said that the Communist Youth are carrying too much of a load and they should be the first responsibility of the Communist Party, and also, secondly, to mass work.

[redacted] from So. Calif. spoke. She called for the election of Negroes in Los Angeles. She told of the large vote that WILLIAM TAYLOR received for supervisor in Los Angeles. It was MSC to adopt the YOUTH RESOLUTION with amendments.

IT WAS THEN MSC that the youth membership in the Communist Party be developed among the Negro and Spanish-speaking youth.

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The afternoon session dealt with the DRAFT PROGRAM and JAMES JACKSON was the speaker.

JAMES JACKSON said he knew there were weaknesses in the DRAFT PROGRAM and that this program must be clearer on what it means in transition to socialism. It must also develop the question of world balance as a force and be clearer on the question of world affairs, and clearer on the question of the working class. Also, the DRAFT PROGRAM must deal with the question of the SOVIET UNION and socialism in the world today, the philosophy and challenges to Marxism, and the woman question. These all must come forth and there is now a call for a national conference on the DRAFT PROGRAM to be held in approx. one year. JACKSON said that with all these weaknesses the PROGRAM is a deepening knowledge and a maturity of the reality of the situation which exists in the United States and in the world as it affects the working class.

AL RICHMOND then spoke. He received a standing ovation. He was introduced as a person who wrote the COMMUNIST PROGRAM. He said he realized there are many weaknesses in the program but from the panels that have been conducted at this convention work will be added to the program. Also, there must be an estimate made of the relationship of forces in the world today. We must make an estimate of the Indonesian and Ghana set-backs of the Communist Party. The old estimates are no longer any good. The question of the Soviet Union catching up with the United States by 1970 is no longer good. Unity in the socialist camp is no longer good. There has been an unbroken line in the freeing of colonial powers is no good. Number one, the Soviets are not going to pass the United States by 1970. There is broken unity in the socialist camp throughout the world. Colonialism still exists and we, as communists, must look at the reality of it and we must evaluate from these premises.

HY LUMER then spoke. He said the DRAFT PROGRAM states that a revolution will come but does not say at what point this revolution is now. This is a balance of forces. There is a new stage of general crisis of imperialism and imperialism ~~en~~ is on the down grade.

HERBERT APTHEKER spoke. He said he wanted to review PAGES 69 to 72 of the program re the intellectual question. He said that the program is good but it is open to criticism and that there is a qualitative change which is missed by the draft program. There is a certain patronage of students and professors and we must realize that students and professors have earned the right to be listened to. He said that the intellectual question must be further developed in the program.

Relative to the question of the war in Vietnam, APTHEKER said that the President of this administration offers no vista, no end. By 1973 we will have 350,000 casualties and we must do more than we have done to stop the war in Vietnam. The solution is to go back to the GENEVA TREATY of 1954 which was honorable and practical. We must do what France has done: get out of Vietnam.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

APTHEKER said that, No. 1: the program needs a checkup of every PARTY MEMBER to read the program. No. 2: that there must be a sale of this program throughout the bookstores. No. 3: that there must be a mailing of the program. No. 4: there must be wide publicity on TV. No. 5: Whenever and wherever a Communist Spokesman speaks the program must be sold. No. 6: There must be organization of all districts and teams to sell the program. They must cover mass meetings and civil rights meetings. No. 7: solicit that every university use the program in its course when teaching students.

ARNOLD JOHNSON spoke. He said there is a need for corrections in the program and the program should be put out in pocket size.

GIL GREEN spoke. He said that our approach to reversals and defeats is the key to our work. This is a revolutionary century. Defeat and reversals are not to be taken lightly. There is no such a thing as an automatic victory for the Communist Party. We learn lessons from our reversals. We cannot ride the coattails of history. We must write our own history. We must examine every reversal because if we don't it could lead to a chain reaction of reversals. We live in a country that is the enemy of the people. Our fight here among the imperialists helps the struggle throughout the world.

PAUL HOFFMAN then spoke. He said there must be a development of national pride by the Negroes in the program.

[redacted] from Northern California spoke. She said the program was being used widely in Northern California.

The convention adjourned at 11:00PM.

On SATURDAY, JUNE 25th, the PEACE RESOLUTION was presented by [redacted] of Massachusetts. There was no discussion on the resolution, and it was MSC to accept it.

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The second resolution was on POLITICAL ORGANIZATION by [redacted] of New York. He read the resolution and then said the following:

1. The COMMUNIST PARTY has great contributions to make to American society.
2. Conditions are right now for the development of the COMMUNIST PARTY.
3. We must examine the fields of PARTY organization, education, literature and press. This is a new period. There must be new building. The time is right for the growth of the Communist Party. The PARTY was just marking time until this time.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

4. There is a growth of the Communist Party among youth.

[ ] said we are going through a complex process. Education is very important and there must be a concentration policy on key industries and shops. We are the PARTY of the working class. We must develop a main direction by education and ideology. We must develop our educational apparatus and we must hold classes. We must hold new member classes. We must realize the principal documents that come out of this convention. There must be an evaluation of the working class and its role. There must be fuller understanding of the election policy and its tactics. There must be an end to white chauvinism. There must be the use of security but not so rigid that the standards for new membership are so rigid that we do not allow people into the Communist Party. The resolution must be discussed on the club level. A club must learn to function at its fullest. The PARTY must be movable, visible organization. The PARTY must organize mass public campaigns on mass issues. There must be cadre development. There must be inter-PARTY democracy. There must be PARTY leadership. There must be PARTY norms and standards. There must be the elimination of our documents being too general. We must draw on the thinking and experience of all PARTY people. There must be discussions and national conferences. When a line is administered there must be an explanation of why this line. There must be a strengthening of the leadership and membership. There must be a special outlook toward women with children. COMMUNIST PARTY leaders must become mass workers not only just functionaries. There must be checkups of discipline and self-criticism.

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Re the question of the press: There must be a MARXIST press essential to the building of the movement. The MARXIST press is a key instrument of mass work. We must work for a daily MARXIST newspaper in the United States, and there must be an increasing of the circulation. There must be money raised for the press. The decisions of the convention will be printed in the press and it will be sold. The role of the PARTY at the convention is to be a part of the American political scene. Each state should start a new subscription drive. There must be a national convention of the press.

Re literature: There is a need for the wider distribution of POLITICAL AFFAIRS. There must be literature in Spanish. There must be publications of MARXIST literature. Youth must have literature available to them dealing with the history of the COMMUNIST PARTY, an introduction to the Communist Party, a guide for the study of Marxism. There must be a mass literature campaign and a national literature conference.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE from New York then spoke. He said we must start to develop a mass ideological campaign. We must deal with the question of the DRAFT PROGRAM, the forces that we have in the field and the money that we can spend. The masses will read during a struggle. He said that MARX and LENIN taught small circles of people what the masses need is ideas.

[ ] from Northern California spoke. She said that the resolutions coming out of the political program made no mention of democratic centralism and it should deal with this question.

[ ] from Chicago said that the old ways mean nothing. We must develop new ways of work.

BEN DOBBS from Southern California then spoke. He was critical of the preparation of the convention. He asked, "How do we organize a convention to influence masses of people?" He said there was a lack of communion between the national leadership and the district leadership. We must look into how our clubs function because the clubs are the backbone of the Communist Party.

[ ] from New York then spoke. He said the PARTY has a further role to play in educating the masses.

It was then MSC to accept the report.

The afternoon session of SATURDAY, JUNE 25th, was chaired by [ ] from Florida.

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[ ] from New York gave the report on political action which was submitted with this report. He called for the establishment of a new relation between the PARTY and the developing NEW LEFT in the United States.

[ ] from Northern California then spoke. He said there must be a method developed to determine when, where and how people are prepared to break away from the two-Party system.

It was then MSC that the general line of the political action report be accepted but that the National Committee be left to develop it.

Also, an amendment was MSC that the National Committee look for ways to make a test case of Communists being on the ballot in each state.

JAMES JACKSON then spoke. He said that the New York Times had carried a story that he, JACKSON, had said that the COMMUNIST PARTY was against the "BLACK POWER" conception of the PANTHER PARTY. He said that what he had said was that he felt that instead of choosing a black panther for a symbol "BLACK POWER" should have chosen an eagle with black and white feathers. [ ] had called to his

JUNE 22/26, 1966

attention that the New York Times had picked on this statement as being anti-BLACK POWER. JACKSON said he wanted to clarify this distortion of the press and that he had prepared a new statement to go to the press where he would deal with this question. JACKSON said that he feels that, on the contrary, the COMMUNIST PARTY has deep appreciation for the important and continuing contribution of the STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) and the County freedom organization called the BLACK PANTHER PARTY. He said the COMMUNIST PARTY has always called for Negro representation where the majority of the people are Negroes and in areas where they are a minority that there should be equality. Actually, this was a distortion by the press but he would develop a press release with [ ] to solve this question.

The next panel was the WOMEN'S PANEL presented by [ ] from Cleveland, Ohio. The women's resolution was read and then [ ] mother of HELEN WINTER, was introduced. It was MSC to accept the main line of this report and that there be a National Women's Committee established to deal with the women question.

The next report was from the Spanish-speaking panel. The first part of the report was read by a Puerto Rican dealing with the question of independence for Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican part of the report was read by a Puerto Rican woman by the name of [ ]. The second part was read by [ ] from Southern California. Both reports were MSC.

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The convention was then adjourned for that day at approx. 11:00PM.

The following day, TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 1966, the convention continued. HELEN WINTER and [ ] were co-chairmen of this session.

The question of the APPEALS COMMITTEE relating to WILLIAM ALBERTSON's appeal had been rejected. What actually took place was that WILLIAM ALBERTSON was not reinstated into the Communist Party. It had not been proven that he was an informant but he was not reliable and it was left up to the National Committee to continue the investigation and the final report would be given to the PARTY membership by the end of the year.

It was then MSC that the NATIONAL COMMITTEE be enlarged to 80 members. GUS HALL made the motion and said that by enlarging the National Committee to 80 it would give the PARTY the aspect of dealing with all parts of PARTY life. In voting for more than 80, in case of tie, the National Committee would have the prerogative of deciding what people to put on the committee.

It was MSC that the National Committee decide whether to have dues stamps to control and check dues and that a new dues schedule be enforced, and that double "solidarity months" be again reinstated and that dues be a minimum obligation.

The following statistics were then given:

24 Districts present.	22 College students.
214 Delegates.	35 Others.
42 Alternates.	167 Male
422 Observers.	88 Female.
68 People in industry.	168 From 18 to 35 years of age - includes delegates and observers.
54 Professional people.	
16 Housewives.	208 Over 35 years of age.
7 Unemployed.	
21 Retired	

There were people belonging to 59 Trade Unions.

107 Involved in peace work.  
79 Involved in civil rights.  
36 Involved in civil liberties.  
47 Involved in community work.  
107 Involved in youth work.  
65 Full-time for the Communist Party.

The election then took place for members of the National Committee. There were 93 names submitted. There were 197 ballots; 201 all told but there were 4 ballots which were voided. After the balloting they only announced those members NOT ELECTED and it was not announced who was elected. Following are the ones NOT ELECTED:

BALLOT 33 : IRVING POTASH from New York.

44 :  from Southern California.



JUNE 22/26, 1966

- BALLOT 54: GEORGE MORRIS from Illinois.  
57: [redacted] from New Jersey.  
59: PAUL NOVICK from New York.  
80: [redacted] from New York.  
88: [redacted] from New Mexico.  
90: [redacted] from Northern California.  
[redacted] from New England.  
[redacted] from Southern California.

The convention then elected GUS HALL General Secretary and HENRY WINSTON National Secretary.

GUS HALL then summarized the convention. This summary dealt with the need to continue the fight and exposure of the "ultra-right" and the mobilization against the policies of the JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION in the war in Viet Nam.

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HALL stated there must be an encouragement of the new, independent political movements inside both the Republican and the Democratic parties. There must be an advancement of the "LEFT" and Communist candidates run in as many places as possible.

HALL stated that the convention staged a new "going ahead" and there is no longer the marking of time. The convention fulfilled the goals of the 17th national convention and was now going on to fulfill the goals of the 18th convention. With this the convention ended.

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EXTRA NOTE: RE PHONE NO. 249-7658: This is the number where [redacted] from San Antonio, Texas, stayed with some relatives while in New York.

\*\*\*\*

LITERATURE ENCLOSED: CONVENTION LITERATURE KIT.  
ENCLOSED IN SEPARATE ENVELOPES.

FOR: FBI.

BALANCE OF PAGES TO ATTACH TO THE REPORT  
FROM C-11 on the 18TH NATIONAL CONVENTION  
OF THE CP-USA- June 22/26, 1966. (PAGES 17 to 22)

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JUNE 22/26, 1966.

A collection was made at the convention for the NATIONAL FARM WORKERS ASSOCIATION for money at their request. \$600.00 was raised with GUS HALL announcing that he would make it a \$1000.00.

It was MSC that the National Committee decide whether to have dues stamps to control and check dues and that a new dues schedule be enforced and that double "solidarity months" be again reinstated, and that dues be a minimum obligation.

The following statistics were then given:

24 Districts present.	22 College students.
214 Delegates	35 Others.
42 Alternates	167 Male.
422 Observers	88 Female.
68 People in industry.	168 Frm 18 to 35 years of age - includes delegates and observers.
54 Professional people.	208 Over 35 years of age.
16 Housewives.	59 Were members of Trade Unions.
7 Unemployed.	107 Involved in peace work.
21 Retired.	36 involved in civil liberties
79 Involved in civil rights.	107 Involved in youth work.
47 Involved in Community Work.	
65 Work full-time for the Communist Party.	

Delegates from various ethnic groups:

69 JEWISH	3 Puerto Rican.
38 Negro	1 Polish
9 Mexican-American	<del>3</del>
5 Russian	
46 Other.	

JUNE 22/26, 1966.

The election for members of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE then took place. There were 93 names submitted. There were 197 ballots; 201 e all told but 4 ballots were voided. After the balloting they only announced those members NOT ELECTED to the National Committee and it was NOT announced who was elected to the National Committee. Following are the ones NOT ELECTED:

BALLOTT 33 : IRVING POTASH from New York.  
44 : [ ] from Southern California.  
54 : GEORGE MORRIS from Illinois.  
57 : [ ] from New Jersey.  
80 : [ ] from New York.  
88 : [ ] from New Mexico.  
90 : [ ] from Northern California.  
[ ] from New England.  
[ ] from Southern California.

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HALL stated that there must be an encouragement of the new, independent political movements inside both the Republican and the Democratic parties. There must be an advancement of the "LEFT" and Communist candidates run in as many places as possible.

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JUNE 22/26, 1966

LITERATURE ENCLOSED: ENCLOSED in ELEVEN SEPARATE ENVELOPES  
DUE TO BULKINESS.

- (ENVELOPE NO. 1)
- EXHIBIT #1 : LIST: REGISTRATION of those delegates assigned to the MEXICAN PANEL at the convention.
- " #2 : AGENDA: "PROPOSED AGENDA: 18TH CONVENTION, C.P. U.S.A."
- " #3 : RULES: "PROPOSED RULES of ORDER TO GUIDE THE PROCEEDINGS of the CONVENTION."
- " #4 : MEETING PLACES: "CONVENTION MEETING PLACES"  
A diagram of the various meeting places of the convention at Webster Hall and the Central Plaza Annex Halls.
- " #5 : MEETING PLACES: "MEETING PLACES FOR COMMITTEES and PANELS- THURSDAY AFTERNOON and EVENING."
- " #6 : HOUSING: BLANK filled out for housing arrangements for delegates to the convention.

(ENVELOPE NO. 2)

- " #7 : REPORT: "GUS HALL'S REPORT to the 18TH NATIONAL CONVENTION, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.--June 22-26, 1966. New York City.

(ENVELOPE NO. 3)

- " #7 : REPORT: EXTRA COPY of GUS HALL'S REPORT as listed above.

(ENVELOPE NO. 4)

- " #8 : REPORT: JOSEPH NORTH--REPORT to 18TH NATIONAL CONVENTION CPUSA.
- " #9 : CONSTITUTION: "CONSTITUTION of the COMMUNIST PARTY of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA - 1959." With proposed Amendments to the Constitution.
- " #10 : CONVENTION DRAFT DOCUMENTS.

JUNE 22/26, 1966

LITERATURE ENCLOSED, cont'd:

(ENVELOPE NO. 5)

EXHIBIT #11 : REPORT: "REPORT of DISTRICT BOARD -  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT CONVENTION"  
By DOROTHY HEALEY. (Photostate: 2 copies).

(ENVELOPE NO. 6)

EXHIBIT #12 : REPORTS: "DISCUSSION MATERIAL - 18TH  
CONVENTION- C.P.U.S.A.- June 22-26- New  
York City. "

" #13 : DRAFT PROPOSALS: "DUES and ASSESSMENTS COM-  
MITTEE."

(ENVELOPE NO. 7)

EXHIBIT #14 : RESOLUTIONS: "DRAFT RESOLUTIONS"  
(Photostate: 2 copies).

(ENVELOPE NO. 8)

EXHIBIT #15 : SPEECH: "HERBERT APTHEKER's REMARKS at the  
18th NATIONAL CONVENTION, CPUSA-6-24-66."

" #16 : SPEECH: "PAUL NOVIK's SPEECH at the 18TH  
NATIONAL CONVENTION- CPUSA. JUNE 23, 1966."

" #17 : ARTICLE: "EVERY PARTY YOUTH A RECRUITER"  
by TIM WHEELER.

" #18 : REPORT: "FOR A LIFE WITH PURPOSE" -  
Youth Report for the 18TH NATIONAL CONVENTION  
of the COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

(ENVELOPE NO. 9)

EXHIBIT #19 : REPORT: "ON THE YOUTH QUESTION"  
Special Report to the 18TH NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
CP. U.S.A.- By BETTINA APTHEKER.

" #20 : REPORT: "THE YOUTH QUESTION IS AMONG THE MOST  
CENTRAL."

" #21 : RESOLUTION: "RESOLUTION ON AGRICULTURAL  
WORKERS."

" #22 : REPORT: "AGAINST ANTI-SEMITIS-WORK AMONG  
JEWISH PEOPLE."

JUNE 22/26, 1966

LITERATURE ENCLOSED, cont'd.

(ENVELOPE NO.9, cont'd).

- EXHIBIT NO. 23 : RESOLUTION: "RESOLUTION ON THE DEFENSE  
of the COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE  
FOR DEMOCRACY (Resume).
- " # 24 : RESOLUTION: "ON BUILDING THE PRESS"
- " # 25 : RESOLUTION: "FARM RESOLUTION"
- " # 26 : RESOLUTION: "ON CULTURAL WORK."
- " # 27 : RESOLUTION: "HOME RULE FOR WASHINGTON,  
D.C."

(ENVELOPE NO.10)

- EXHIBIT # 28 : RESOLUTION: "RESOLUTION ON LATIN AMERICA"  
(Photostat: 2 copies)
- " # 29 : RESOLUTION: "JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS ON THE  
WAR IN VIETNAM." (Photostat: 2 copies)
- " # 30 : RESOLUTION: "RESOLUTION ON THE MEXICAN-  
AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE SOUTHWEST".  
(2 copies).
- " # 31 : REPORT: "RECOMMENDATIONS ON NATIONALITY  
GROUP WORK." (Photostat: 2 copies).
- " # 32 : REPORT: "WE SUPPORT THE DEMAND OF THE  
PEOPLE'S OF PUERTO RICO FOR INDEPENDENCE  
AND SOVEREIGNTY." (PUERTO RICAN RESOLUTION).  
(2 copies).
- " # 33 : RESOLUTION: "RESOLUTION ON THE PUERTO RICAN  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES."
- " # 34 : RESOLUTION: "ON SPAIN" (2 copies).  
(Photostat).
- " # 35 : REPORT: "1966-FUND DRIVE & CIRCULATION  
DRIVE & TOTAL CIRCULATION" -JUNE 17, 1966.
- " # 36 : LIST: "RESTAURANTS-11th Street VICINITY.
- " # 37 : CARD: "DELEGATE'S CARD" to 18th National  
convention, CP-USA, June 22/26, 1966.
- " # 38 : CARD: "ISSUED BY THE W.E.B. DuBOIS CLUB  
(566-7413)-giving instruction how "To  
deal with police for maximum of safety, etc."

JUNE 22/26, 1966

LITERATURE ENCLOSED, cont'd:

(ENVELOPE NO. 11).

- EXHIBIT NO. 39 : PUBLICATION: "PARTY AFFAIRS, MAY, 1966."  
Issued by the CP-U.S.A., 23 W. 26th St.,  
New York City, N.Y. - 10010.
- " " 40 : PUBLICATION: "AMERICAN DIALOG" VOL. 3,  
NO.2. SUMMER NUMBER. Published bi-monthly  
by DIALOG PUBLICATIONS, 853 Broadway,  
NY-10003.
- " # 41 : CLIPPING frM THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 23,  
1966. Art: "ISOLATION OF REDS IS OVER,  
HALL SAYS." Re U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY OPENING  
ITS 18th National convention in New York.
- " " 42 : CLIPPING: FrM DAILY NEWS, New York, Wed.  
JUNE 22, 1966. Art: "U.S. COMMIES GATHER TODAY  
AFTER 7 YEARS."
- " " 43 : CLIPPING: FrM: DAILY NEWS New York, Wed.  
June 22, 1966. ARTICLE: "COMMUNISTS TO THE  
SURFACE."
- " " 44 : CLIPPING: FrM The NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY,  
JUNE 26, 1966. Article: "LEADERS URGE U.  
S. COMMUNISTS to WORK 'in and AROUND the  
ORBIT of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY.'" "

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O F F I C E                      M E M O R A N D U M                      U N I T E D   S T A T E S   G O V E R N M E N T

TO:                      SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-55455)

FROM:                      SA ROBERT H. CLAUDIUS

SUBJECT:                      MORANDA SMITH SECTION (MSS)  
                                    SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,  
                                    COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)  
                                    IS-C

DATE: 9/28/66

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	Regular meeting of So. Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, on 8/31/66.	9/7/66	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

CC: [REDACTED]

- 100-33876 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-30537 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-30439 (WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)
- 100-29380 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-56514 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-56617 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-29774 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-56623 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 97-16 ("PEOPLE'S WORLD")
- 100-23488 (FUNDS)
- 100-67303 (SSCDC)
- 100-66078 (CIRM)
- 100-23901 (EDUCATION)
- 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI)
- 100-26044 (ORGANIZATION)
- 100-23933 (MEMBERSHIP)
- 100-22822 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-55502 (BEVERLY-FAIRFAX SECTION)
- 100-44910 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 157-1446 (TALO)
- 157-1484 (COMMUNITY ALERT PATROL)

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b7C  
b7D

*100-66078-985*

SEARCHED	INDEXED <i>7</i>
SERIALIZED <i>1</i>	FILED <i>1</i>
SEPT. 28, 1966	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

*RP*

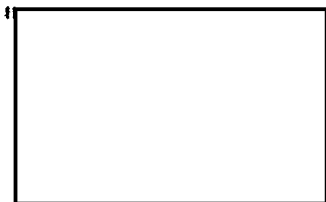
RHC:LAL  
(23) *ew* Read by *RHC*

LA 100-55455

"Sept. 1, 1966

"A meeting of the South Central Club, Moranda Smith Section, So. California District, CPUSA, was held on Wednesday, August 31, 1966 at the home of [redacted] and BILL TAYLOR [redacted] [redacted] Los Angeles.

"Present were:



"Dues were collected and literature sold.

"[redacted] gave a report on the PW as to the banquet, tickets, sub drive coming up, and again requested that the club keep on collecting money for the South-side Citizens Defense Committee to fulfill our quota of \$75.00. After the collections tonight the club has about \$20.00 toward the quota. He again mentioned that the middle class Jews were not donating to the L.A. Committee anymore inasmuch as the money will now be used to help the Southside Committee.

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"[redacted] said that many Negroes who were helping the Civil Rights movement are no longer going to help because of the militancy connected with Black Power. He said he is opposed to Black Power as much as to white power. He said he believed in ballots not bullets. [redacted] and he had quite an argument over this inasmuch as she said he was the temporary chairman of the club and his views were not correct and that a discussion should take place on this in he near future.

"[redacted] acting as educational director, is to lead a discussion on DOROTHY's report to the convention as the second half of the convention will be coming up soon. She said there are a few points in the report she does not agree with and would like a full discussion of the report, especially in regard to

LA 100-55455

"those points on the Jewish question in the Soviet Union (she believes there is no discrimination) and on the bureaucracy existing in Czechoslovakia as per DOROTHY's report. More on this later.

[ ] asked that the meeting night be changed from Wednesday so that he could bowl with his league on Wednesdays and no other day could be agreed upon so it was tabled until the next meeting when more people would be present. She mentioned at one point that either [ ] or [ ] could transfer from this club to another one that meets on other days inasmuch as the conflict on evenings is between [ ] and [ ] attends union meetings on Tuesdays and goes to school on Thursdays. Next meeting will be held on Tuesday instead of Wed. to avoid conflict so that [ ] could bowl starting Sept. 7th next. [ ] mentioned that there was a reorganization taking place in the sections anyway and this could be adjusted by transfers. (This was confirmed by [ ] today when he said that his area is going to be part of Beverly-Fairfax section.) More on this later.

"[ ] said that [ ] from the Aaron Johnson club is leaving there and will be in another club and inasmuch as she was the only one who raised money in that club he expected that the Aaron Johnson club would fold or be absorbed by another club or parts transferred to other clubs. [ ] is also being transferred.

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"Some discussion on elections and meeting adjourned about 10:30 P.M. BILL TAYLOR left before meeting started to attend a meeting of TALO in Watts due to the fact that the Patrol had been inactivated there. He feels that TALO should not have done so."

ACTION:

Informant advised on 9/12/66 that the [ ] reported in this report is actually [ ] (100-33876)(SI).

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX: BLACK POWER



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California  
October 5, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 12 - Bureau (AM - RM)(157-6-26)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB
- 1 - FIO, Los Angeles
- 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles
- ③ - Los Angeles (157-943)
- ① - (1 - 100-66078)(CIRM)

LDJ/rb  
(20) *ll*

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GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEARCHED  
INDEXED  
SERIALIZED  
FILED

100-66078-986

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Pages</u>
I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION .....	4
II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS .....	5 - 7
III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL .....	8 - 11
IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION .....	12 - 14
V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED .....	15
VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS .	16
VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION .....	17
VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS .....	18

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL  
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP  
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL  
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No Change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

Los Angeles, California

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 19, 1966, II-1, was an article reporting that the Federally funded "Operation Cool-It" had transported 1,300 poverty area youths to Catalina Island as the final activity of the summer. The article reported that Louis Lomax, a Negro who heads a controversial type television program, had organized this group to operate swimming pools, hold beach parties, and various excursions throughout the summer. Some local anti-poverty officials indicated the \$262,000 received by Lomax might have been better spent on "Operation Headstart," however, others pointed out that the period between Labor Day and the opening of school was traditionally one of high delinquency, and this program might have helped avert such delinquency. Lomax stated he was approached by the Office of the Vice President of the United States to set up the program and he received \$1,250 per month while the project was in operation.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 20, 1966, II-12, was an article reporting that the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA) had asked for 8.5 million dollars to expand the Teen Post program in the Los Angeles area, since the original amount allocated was only 1.5 million dollars.

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In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 22, 1966, II-8, was an article reporting that sponsors and administrators of nearly 150 Teen Posts in the Los Angeles area had planned a mass meeting to discuss their problems if they do not receive adequate funds to continue the Teen Post program.

Mexican - American Matters

On September 21, 1966, Reverend [redacted], [redacted] of The Cleland House of Neighborly Service in Los Angeles, advised there are no signs of any planned racial disturbances in the Mexican - American communities

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

of Los Angeles. He pointed out, however, that the area had explosive possibilities, capable of being ignited by an incident which would probably involve young people in the 18 to 20 years of age category. He stated such an incident would probably involve young gangs in the area, and stated there was considerable resentment among Mexican-Americans over what they considered to be the inequality of the poverty program as between Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 27, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that Mayor Samuel Yorty agreed with a delegation of Mexican-Americans who visited him that they were not receiving proper attention from the poverty program. He stated he believed Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), was making a mistake in allowing Congressman Augustus Hawkins to run the program, especially the Neighborhood Adult Participation Program (NAPP). Miss [redacted], who resigned as head of the Pacoima NAPP Outpost, announced that 30 Mexican-Americans were to begin a 12 day prayer vigil to bring about a change in the administration of the NAPP.

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In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 22, 1966, II-1, was an article reporting there was a meeting of nearly 400 corporation officials in Los Angeles, sponsored by the California Fair Employment Practices Commission. Speakers and officials agreed that old personnel procedures had to be abandoned and new tests developed to insure the tests relate to the "job" and to insure all races get "an equal break."

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 26, 1966, II-1, was an article reporting that general contractors in the Southern California building industry had formulated plans for an assault on discrimination in employment, together with the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL - CIO) Building Trades Council.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 22, 1966, II-8, was an article reporting that "Operation Headstart" classes had started for 6,780 children in the Los Angeles area following allocation of 9.5 million dollars in Federal anti-poverty funds. The OEO also agreed to finance first-year costs of 100 portable classrooms to replace sub-standard buildings.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 24, 1966, III-5, was an article reporting that Mrs. Rena Frye, whose arrest was one of those which many people believed sparked the August, 1965 Watts riot, had been fined \$250.00, given a suspended 30 day jail sentence, and two years probation in Municipal Court, Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," a Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of September 22, 1966, page A-1, was an article reporting that Attorney Johnny Cochran had filed suit in behalf of Mrs. Leonard Deadwyler against the City of Los Angeles for the wrongful death of her husband, and for emotional distress, in the sum of \$3,000,000.

Leonard Deadwyler was shot and killed on May 7, 1966 by a Los Angeles Police Department officer while transporting his pregnant wife to the hospital.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE

Los Angeles, California

On September 19, 1966, Dr. [redacted] National Committee member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), advised tensions between the Negro and white communities are definitely improving. He foresaw no possibility of a riot unless it was of a spontaneous nature, based upon an incident such as an arrest. He stated the feeling of the Negro community toward the Los Angeles Police Department had improved recently, since Acting Chief of Police Thad Brown had indicated an interest in improving the relationship of his department with the Negro community. b6 b7C

Dr. [redacted] further advised the National Nominating Committee of the NAACP was in the hands of younger, more militant, members and he, together with older members of the National Committee, had not been renominated for office. He stated he and others plan to run for office independently, which is permitted under the bylaws of the NAACP.

Venice, California

Venice is an area of Los Angeles immediately adjacent to Santa Monica, California.

On September 26, 1966, the Venice Division, Los Angeles Police Department, advised that on September 25, 1966 at 11:30 p.m., a rock was thrown through the rear window of a police patrol car cruising in a predominantly Negro area. The incident occurred at 519 Indiana Avenue, Venice, and approximately 200 persons gathered at the scene. No injuries were sustained by the Los Angeles Police Department officers and no arrests were made.

On September 29, 1966, the Los Angeles Police Department advised that at 10:25 p.m. on September 28, 1966, a yellow Cab carrying three male Caucasian passengers

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

was stopped by a crowd of male Negroes in the 700 block of Indiana Avenue. The passengers became frightened and fled. Rocks were thrown in the cab and the driver called the police. When 17 police units arrived, a crowd of over 200 young Negroes of both sexes threw rocks and bottles at police. Obscene language and verbal abuse were directed towards the officers. Thirteen Negroes were arrested for rioting, lewd language, and failure to produce identification. No police officers were injured and two police vehicles were damaged. The Los Angeles Police Department advised that residents of the area attempted to assist police in dispersing the crowd and forcing rioters away. The Los Angeles Police Department considered the situation in Venice to be quiet but more tense than in the recent past.

In the "Santa Monica Evening Outlook" newspaper of Santa Monica, California, September 30, 1966, page 1, was an article reporting that Virgil Brown, president of the Santa Monica - Venice Branch, NAACP, announced his group was investigating complaints of police methods in the incident which occurred on September 28 - 29, 1966 and if their findings warrant it, they would support the defense of those arrested. He pointed out they wanted all the facts before they decided on a course of action. Brown was quoted as stating that "Venice tensions have reached the boiling point." He announced meetings had been called with Santa Monica and Venice police to discuss complaints by Negroes that they were being harassed.

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In the same issue of the above newspaper was an eye witness article by Managing Editor R. D. Funk of a "routine" traffic arrest. Funk had been visiting the headquarters of Project Action at 1138 Washington Boulevard, Venice. This group is an organization of Negroes, the majority of whom are on probation or parole. The organization was established so the group could help each other find jobs and stay out of jail. The [redacted] proceeded to the location of the arrest and talked to police.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

The article reported complaints of citizens that the area was a "concentration camp," that they were harassed, and that they missed the former captain in charge of the Venice Division, Los Angeles Police Department, who had been transferred.

San Pedro, California

San Pedro is a section of Los Angeles in the Long Beach Harbor area of Los Angeles, policed by the Los Angeles Police Department.

On September 25, 1966, the Los Angeles Police Department was dispatched to check a disturbance at a Mexican wedding reception at the American Legion Hall in San Pedro. When officers attempted to arrest one person, a crowd of more than 100 Mexican-Americans threw rocks and bottles at police. Eight arrests were made. The Los Angeles Police Department advised they did not consider the incident to be racial in nature.

Fresno, California

On September 23, 1966, [redacted] of the "B" Street Community Center in Fresno, advised that considerable progress had been made by the administration of the City of Fresno to avoid any racial strife in the area. He advised he could not foresee any potential violence in that area within the next six months.

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On September 23, 1966, Detective [redacted] Fresno Police Department and member of the NAACP, advised the racial situation had not changed since he was last contacted. He stated the appointment of a Negro Director of Human Relations by the City of Fresno and the recent appointment of another Negro as Race Relations Director by the Fresno Redevelopment Agency had aided immeasurably in heading off any potential for violence.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Indio, California

On September 23, 1966, Reverend [redacted] of the Indio Chapter, NAACP, and [redacted] current member of the Indio NAACP Board, advised the racial situation in Indio was calm and they knew of no incidents which might give rise to violence within the last six months.

Long Beach - San Pedro -  
Wilmington, California, area

On September 26, 1966, [redacted] of the San Pedro - Wilmington Chapter, NAACP, advised the racial situation appeared calm in his area and he knew of no situation which might trigger violence in the near future.

On September 28, 1966, [redacted] of the Long Beach Chapter, NAACP, advised he considered the racial situation in that area to be calm, as he feels the majority of Negro people do not want violence and if violence arises, it will be spontaneous and precipitated by individual Negroes.

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Ventura - Oxnard, California

On September 23, 1966, [redacted], member of the Ventura - Oxnard Chapter, NAACP, advised he had no information of any recent problems of a racial nature in the area in which he resides.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS  
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

United Klans of America, Inc.,  
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK)  
(See Appendix)

On September 13, 1966, Source 1 advised that during a meeting of the Peace Action Council (PAC) on September 12, 1966 at the Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, Hollywood, California, it was announced that the Pacoima Congregational Church, 9988 Laurel Canyon Boulevard, Pacoima, was planning a large motor caravan to a KKK rally to be held on September 17, 1966 in Soledad Canyon, Saugus, California. The individuals in the caravan expected to picket, demonstrate, and protest the holding of this rally.

The PAC was formed during the early summer of 1966 for the express purpose of protesting the war in Viet Nam during the National Governors' Conference in Los Angeles from July 4 - 8, 1966. Following the conclusion of that conference, the PAC members decided to continue as a group to sponsor similar protest demonstrations at a later date.

On September 13, 1966, Mr. [REDACTED] Administrative Officer, United States Forestry Service, Angeles National Forest, Pasadena, California, advised that the land on which the rally was to be held is land of the United States Government and the person holding the lease had subleased the land for the rally. [REDACTED] stated this information was furnished to the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., so that it could be presented to the United States Department of Justice for a legal opinion regarding the right of the Klan to use the land.

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On September 15, 1966, the United States Forestry Service stated the Klan had been advised they could not burn a 40 foot cross, since it was a fire hazard.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

On September 17, 1966, the above rally began at 7:45 p.m. in the open area of Soledad Canyon, Saugus, California. The delay was caused when the electrical generator to be used to light the 40 foot cross was inoperative. Approximately 200 persons were gathered at the rally, many of whom were newsmen and persons who came to heckle the Klan. Approximately 11 individuals were wearing KKK garb. The main speaker was [redacted] chairman of the KKK, who made a speech in which he made derogatory remarks against Negro and Jewish people. Representatives of the National States Rights Party (NSRP) (See Appendix) shared the podium with [redacted]

Approximately 135 individuals carried signs and picketed the rally.

Approximately 100 deputies of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office covered the above rally to insure against violence, but there was no violence.

In the "People's World" of September 24, 1966, page 3, was an article reporting the opening of another American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Police Malpractice Complaint Center at 2222 East First Street, Los Angeles, in the Mexican-American section of Los Angeles. [redacted] of the center, stated his office had been very busy receiving complaints, indicating the people in the area believed a police problem existed, whether it did or not.

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On September 30, 1966, Source 5, a high official in the Los Angeles Police Department, advised the Special Community Problems Unit of the Los Angeles Police Department had visited Teen Post Number 510, Echo Park Teen Post, 1903 North Echo Park Avenue, Los Angeles. The visit was on September 21, 1966. Officers visiting the post talked to the director, Mr. [redacted] stated that [redacted], his former assistant, had resigned to resume schooling. [redacted] stated the new [redacted] would be [redacted], who was in charge of another program during the summer.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 21, 1966, Source 2 advised that on March 20, 1966, [ ] was present at a meeting of the newly formed Thomas Paine Club, 24th CD Section, Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), at 825 North Benton Way, Los Angeles.

On July 5, 1966, Source 3 advised that [ ] [ ] was present at the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in New York City between June 22 and 26, 1966.

On September 6, 1966, Source 4 advised that on August 9, 1966, [ ] was present at a meeting of the Mexican Commission of the SCDCP at 4247 Woolwine Drive, Los Angeles.

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of September 29, 1966, page A-1, was an article reporting that defense witnesses would challenge the constitutionality of a "criminal syndicalism" indictment against John Wesley Harris, Jr., Negro member of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) (See Appendix). Harris was indicted in connection with distributing anti-police, pro revolutionary literature during the inquest into the death of Leonard Deadwyler in May, 1966. The article also reported that a number of students representing various student groups were in court to show their support of Harris.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS  
INVOLVED

The following individuals, referred to under  
Section IV above, are involved in the local racial situation:

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] of the California KKK

[REDACTED]  
Director of the ACLU  
Police Malpractice Complaint Center

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[REDACTED] and  
[REDACTED]  
Directors of the Echo Park Teen Post  
Los Angeles

[REDACTED] of the PLP  
Indicted for "criminal syndicalism"  
in Los Angeles

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION  
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL  
OFFICIALS

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of September 22, 1966, page A-6, was an editorial by Colonel Leon H. Washington, Jr., commenting that it was very gratifying to notice that Acting Chief of Police Thad Brown appeared anxious to work with the Negro community. Colonel Washington approved of recent meetings between community leaders and officials of the Los Angeles Police Department and stated he was sure the majority of citizens were anxious to work with the police.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY  
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 20, 1966, II-12, was an article reporting the Los Angeles City Council had approved \$330,000 in planning funds for the Vernon - Central area of south Los Angeles and \$370,000 in funds for the Watts area, to revitalize these areas which were damaged in the riot of August, 1965.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of September 20, 1966, II-2, was an article reporting that a group of parents calling themselves "Parents for Neighborhood Schools" in the Shadow Hills area of Los Angeles assailed the Los Angeles Board of Education for reallocating students from a predominantly integrated school to a predominantly Caucasian school. The group announced they would oppose a school tax override being requested for this area because of the attitude of the school board.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Copies of this letterhead memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th INTC, United States Army, Pasadena, to the Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, to the Field Intelligence Office, Los Angeles, to the United States Attorney, Los Angeles, and to the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for their information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC.  
(NKKKK)

A source advised that on May 22, 1960, the National Grand Council of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan met at Atlanta, Georgia, to discuss consolidation of the Klan's unity of effort and activities to establish a National Fund, and a National Secretary, and to design a new flag. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Federation of Ku Klux Klan, Alabama; Association of Arkansas Klans, Arkansas; Florida Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Florida; Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Florida; Association of Georgia Klans, Georgia; Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, North Carolina; Association of South Carolina Klans, South Carolina; Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Tennessee; and Kyksos Klan, Texas.

This source advised that at a consolidation meeting at Atlanta, Georgia, September 2-5, 1960, at which the North Carolina and Texas Klans were not represented, it was resolved and passed that their name be changed to National Ku Klux Klan.

A second source advised in March, 1964, that several meetings of Klan groups were held during the period 1960 to 1963 in an effort to unite the Klan groups under a single leadership.

The organization was granted a charter in DeKalb County, Georgia, November 1, 1963, under the name National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., as a "patriotic, secret, social, and benevolent order".

A third source advised in December, 1963, that the organization had issued a statement of its program which indicated the organization to be anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and anti-foreign born.

A third source advised in August, 1964, that the organization has a headquarters in Tucker, Georgia, and the day-to-day operations are under the direction of JAMES R. VENABLE, Chairman.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS  
PARTY  
(NSRP)

On November 26, 1957, a source advised that the United White Party (UWP) was organized at a convention held in Knoxville, Tennessee, on November 10, 1957. An article in the November 26, 1957, issue of the "Greenville Biedmont", a newspaper of Greenville, South Carolina, reported "the recent formation of a new political party, to be known as the United White Party." According to the article, the party was formed at a recently held meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee, at which many klansmen were represented. The UWP was reported as being opposed to all "race mixing organizations and individuals."

The July, 1958, issue of "The Thunderbolt", self-described as the "official Racial Nationalist Organ of the National States Rights Party" (NSRP), reported that rank and file "States Righters" had merged with the UWP under "the banner of the National States Rights Party", with national offices at Post Office Box 261, Jeffersonville, Indiana.

In November, 1958, a source advised that the NSRP is composed of past members of Klan-type organizations and notorious anti-Semites.

Issue No. 19, dated June, 1960, of "The Thunderbolt" announced the address of the headquarters of the NSRP had been changed from Jeffersonville, Indiana, to Post Office Box 783, Birmingham, Alabama.

Issue No. 69, dated July, 1965, of "The Thunderbolt" announced the address of the new headquarters of the NSRP as Post Office Box 184, Augusta, Georgia.

On August 4, 1965, a source advised that [redacted] the Information Director of the NSRP and Editor of "The Thunderbolt," is the individual who actually controls the NSRP.

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS  
PARTY  
(NSRP)

Issue No. 72, dated November, 1965, of "The Thunderbolt", reflects Dr. Edward R. Fields to be National Director of the NSRP as well as Editor of "The Thunderbolt."

"The Thunderbolt" continues to publish articles attacking Negroes and persons of the Jewish faith.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times", April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10/5/66

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)(P)  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to the Director dated 9/22/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for Bureau file 100-442529 (CIHM). An extra copy is designated in the event the Bureau desires to disseminate a copy of this LHM to the Office of Economic Opportunity (See Section IV regarding the Echo Park Moon Post).

Local military agencies, the U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 12)  
(1 - 100-442529)(CIHM)
- 3 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-66073)

LOJ/rb  
(6)

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
FILED \_\_\_\_\_

987

LA 157-943

Source

Identity

1

2

3

4

5



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The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because data furnished by sources 1 through 5 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of a continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 9/18/66 through 10/2/66, 12 potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised, according to Bureau instructions, regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California

OCT 13 1966

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 03-22-2011

STOKELY CARMICHAEL  
SECURITY MATTER-SNCC

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE (SNCC)  
INTERNAL SECURITY-SNCC

The following sources have furnished reliable information in the past:

A source reported on October 7, 1965, that [redacted] recently indicted by a Los Angeles County Grand Jury on a charge of Criminal Syndicalism, had telephonically contacted STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on October 5, 1965, concerning his possible public appearance in Los Angeles to speak for the recently formed Committee to Defend [redacted] (CDJH).

On October 12, 1965, a second source advised that at a meeting of the CDJH held at 1159 Mullen Avenue, on October 11, 1965, it was mentioned that CARMICHAEL is coming to Los Angeles in the near future to make speeches in the Watts area of Los Angeles. CARMICHAEL's expenses are to be paid by the CDJH and in addition to his own appearance, he is also to make speeches for the CDJH to help raise funds for the CDJH and SNCC. The funds raised are to be split equally between the two organizations. The CDJH is currently awaiting written confirmation from CARMICHAEL before advancing him travel expenses.

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A third source advised on July 27, 1966, that [redacted] was a member of the Los Angeles Club, Progressive Labor Party (see appendix).

100-66078-989

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished the United States Attorney and Secret Service, Los Angeles as well as appropriate local military agencies. Local law enforcement agencies have been advised.

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FILED \_\_\_\_\_

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declassification

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100-66078-989

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, LOS ANGELES CLUB

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the Los Angeles Club of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is affiliated with the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) with headquarters in San Francisco, California. The aims and purposes of the Los Angeles Club and the BAPLP are identical to those of the National PLP, with headquarters in New York City. The PLP is pro-Chinese Communist oriented.

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APPENDIX

OCT 18 1968

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-63822)  
RE: STOKELY CARMICHAEL  
SM-SNCC

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
IS-SNCC

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM), one copy for Bureau file 100-442527 (CIRM).

Copies are being furnished Region II, 115th INTC, U. S. Army, Pasadena, OSI, Norton Air Force Base, FIO, U. S. Navy, San Diego, the United States Attorney and Secret Service, Los Angeles.

Two copies of LHM are being furnished to the Atlanta Office.

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
  - (3-100-439190) (SNCC)
  - (1-100-442527) (CIRM)
- 2 - Atlanta (1-100- (SNCC) (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - (1-100- (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
- 5 - Los Angeles (1-100-63822) (SNCC)
  - (1-100-68783) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
  - (1-100-68853) (COMMITTEE TO DEFEND JOHN HARRIS)
  - (1-100-67907) [REDACTED]
  - ①-100-65078) (CIRM)

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FGK/ajs  
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FILED \_\_\_\_\_

100-66078-990

LA 100-53822

This LHM is classified confidential to protect the identity of confidential informants and sources of continuing value.

The sources described in the attached LHM are:

1st source

PSI [REDACTED]  
orally to SA FRANCIS G. KAHL  
10/7/66.

2nd source

PSI [REDACTED]  
orally to SA FRANCIS G. KAHL,  
10/12/66

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3rd source

[REDACTED]

Close contact is being maintained with the above sources and the Bureau and Atlanta will be advised of pertinent developments.





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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 03-22-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California

OCT 13 1966

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY PLP

The following sources have furnished reliable information in the past:

On October 12, 1966, a source advised that [redacted] stated that the Progressive Labor Party (see appendix) is going to pass out literature in the Watts area of Los Angeles this week concerning the recent arrest of [redacted] for Criminal Syndicalism by the Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office. [redacted] commented that if [redacted] is not freed, "we will really get a riot going". It was also mentioned that at a meeting of the Committee to Defend John Harris (CDJH) held at 1169 Mullen Avenue, Los Angeles, on October 11, 1966 that PLP will attempt to pack the court room during the trial of [redacted] with PLP members and sympathizers. The trial is tentatively scheduled for October 21, 1966 in Los Angeles County Superior Court.

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A second source advised on July 27, 1966, that [redacted] and [redacted] were both members of the Los Angeles Club, PLP (see appendix).

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished the United States Attorney and Secret Service, Los Angeles as well as appropriate local military authorities. Local law enforcement agencies have been advised.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 11 - Bureau (100-437041) (RM)
- 1 - Region II (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
- 5 - Los Angeles (100-63077)

FGK/ajs  
(20)

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declassification

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FILED

103-66078-991



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California  
October 20, 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 11 - Bureau (157-6-26)(RM)  
(1 - 100-442529)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - FIO, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
- (3) - Los Angeles (157-943)  
(1) - 100-66078

IDJ/jae  
(19)

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~~Group 1~~

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Pages</u>
I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION. . . . .	4
II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS . . . . .	5 - 6
III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL . . . . .	7 - 11
IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION . . . . .	12 - 15
V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED. . . . .	16
VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS . . . . .	17
VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION. . . . .	18
VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS . . . .	19

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL  
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP  
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL  
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL VIOLENCE

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

Los Angeles, California

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 4, 1966, II-1, was an article reporting that conditions in the poverty areas where Negroes and Mexican-Americans live were becoming worse, even though the general Los Angeles area was most prosperous. The article furnished statistics that the average family income in these areas had dropped nearly \$400 in the last five years, that 26 per cent of the households in South Los Angeles were headed by women, and between two and three per cent more families were in the poverty category than in 1960.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 6, 1966, Part 8, Page 1, was an article reporting the opening of a Police Malpractice Complaint Center in the Pacoima area of Los Angeles, California. The Center was established by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The [redacted] of the Center, [redacted], stated the Pacoima area was "smoldering" and stated "whether it blows up may depend on offices such as this one."

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of October 13, 1966, Page A-3, was an article reporting that a California assembly group was probing the coverage of race riots by newspapers. Some newsmen present indicated they believed newspaper coverage had contributed to racial violence while others opposed any attempt to limit such news coverage since they felt that a press information center in the area of a riot would bog down the collection of news.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 13, 1966, Page A-6, was an editorial by Colonel Leon H. Washington, Jr., commenting upon the reconstruction of larger businesses in the general Watts area. The editorial commended the businesses

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POSSIBLE RACIAL MATTERS  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

who were rebuilding and urged respect for law and order as the community's way of rewarding such businessmen.

On October 6, 1966, [redacted] Realtor and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) member, stated he learned that the organization called "Sons of Watts" had made a series of records which they had sent to San Francisco during its recent racial disturbances. The records urged an attitude of calm and an end to violence. Mr. [redacted] did not know whether these recordings were used or not.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL MATTER  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

Los Angeles, California

In the "Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of October 6, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that Dr. Raymond Jordan, head of a group of volunteer workers with the Operation Headstart program had held a meeting at which he predicted racial violence unless funds for their program were forthcoming. Reverend Jordan was quoted as stating that if the Democratic Party wanted to keep California they would have to deal with "the little people."

On October 14, 1966, Source 1, a high official of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), advised the "Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch," published by Mrs. Pat Alexander, was considered to be an agitating influence in the Negro community. Source states Mrs. [redacted] appeared intent upon disrupting the Negro community and causing strife and violence.

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On October 10, 1966, [redacted] of the Urban League in Los Angeles, advised he believed the racial situation in Los Angeles was improving. He mentioned several efforts being made by the people of Watts to help themselves. He cited the sponsoring of a baseball team by the Urban League, a training course for Negro girls in the Watts area, and numerous activities at community parks which provide recreation for the youth of the area.

Compton, California

Compton, California, is an area immediately south of the Watts area of Los Angeles, California.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

On October 4, 1966, Captain Harold Lindemulder, Compton Police Department, advised that there appeared to be no increase in tensions which could result in racial violence; however, he pointed out that housing in the Compton area is becoming scarce and Negroes are attempting to move into Lynwood, California, a Caucasian area east of the Watts area and north of Compton. He stated Lynwood newspapers reported that the Caucasians of the area are opposing such a move by Negroes, and stated Lynwood, or an area nearby, could become a possible future trouble spot in the matter of racial unrest.

Pomona, California

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 6, 1966, I-13, was an article reporting that training sessions on human relations were being given by the Pomona Unified School District, in an effort to improve racial relations in the Pomona area.

San Pedro, California

On October 4, 1966, Lieutenant [redacted] Harbor Division, LAPD, advised there was no increase in the potential for violence in that area as a result of a recent LAPD arrest at a Mexican-American wedding in San Pedro. He advised disturbances resulting from Mexican-American celebrations are common and do not constitute a new problem for the LAPD.

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Venice, California

Venice is a section of Los Angeles policed by the LAPD.

On October 3, 1966, Sergeant [redacted], Watch Commander, Venice Division, LAPD, advised the racial situation had been quiet since a disturbance on September 28, 1966, but stated tension was high and racial violence could occur at any moment.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

In the "Evening Star News" of Culver City, California, issue of October 3, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that the LAPD had reported recent disturbances in Venice had been caused by a group of "young trouble makers." The article reported Venice had "more than its share of bitterness, deep poverty and violence potential." The LAPD stated that there was an increasing incidence of rock throwing at patrol cars, and the same group of young people were always involved. The article continued with interviews of older Negroes in the area who agreed that trouble was always caused by a few, and interviews with young Negroes who blamed police methods for the increased trouble in the area.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 10, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that an angry crowd of 20 to 30 men took a drunk suspect from two arresting police officers in the 600 block of Indiana Avenue, Venice. The crowd assaulted the officers. Fifteen police cars responded and arrested three Negro men on suspicion of taking a prisoner from an officer. The drunk suspect escaped.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 6, 1966, Page A-1, was an article reporting that Venice was becoming a slum area with high unemployment, with its employed being engaged in menial jobs. The Negro population was reported at about 10,000. Older Negro residents of the area were reportedly resentful of newcomers to the area, many of whom are in conflict with the law.

On October 12, 1966, Source 1, a high official of the LAPD, advised that Captain Jack Morris had been in charge of the Venice Police Department for a considerable period of time. He stated Captain Morris did not totally enforce the law in the Negro community and considered retreat from a serious situation as being justified in some instances. Top LAPD officials thereupon decided that in view of recent flareups it was time to place a

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

more aggressive officer in charge of the Venice Division. Captain Morris was thereupon replaced by Captain Thomas McTighe who was instructed to "clean up the area." Source advised many inhabitants of the Venice area were extremely unhappy with the change in administration. Captain McTighe has made efforts to maintain a strong position and enforce the law.

In the "Evening Outlook," newspaper of Santa Monica, California, issue of October 12, 1966, Page 6, was an article reporting that a Police Malpractice Complaint Center had been opened in Venice, California, in a center sponsored by the Methodist Church. The Center was operated by the ACLU. Reverend [redacted] pastor of the above church, stated they were aware of tensions in the Negro community and felt the center would provide a channel of communication in the community.

In the "Evening Star News" of Culver City, California, issue of October 14, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that the LAPD, civic leaders and Negro residents got together recently in Venice and established a "Community Committee" to work on the problem of police-community relations. The meeting was chaired by [redacted] of the Santa Monica-Venice Chapter, NAACP, and other prominent Negro leaders were present. Captain McTighe (above) tentatively agreed to have three or four police officers confer with the group once a week in an effort to iron out differences. Several speakers charged the police had harrassed the recently established ACLU Complaint Center by placing police cars in front of the Center. Captain McTighe denied any knowledge of such action. [redacted] director of "Project Action," a Negro self-help organization in the area, named the committee to work with the police.

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Santa Barbara, California

On October 17, 1966, Dr. [redacted] president of the Santa Barbara Chapter, NAACP, advised there appeared to be

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTER

little potential for violence in the Santa Barbara area because of the small Negro population, the moderate Negro demands, and because of work done among the poorer Negro families to organize and channelize their complaints.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTER

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS  
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

Los Angeles, California

In the "Los Angeles Herald-Examiner" of October 4, 1966, Page A-15, was an article reporting that Mayor Samuel Yorty, in a speech given at Houston, Texas, had stated that Communist agitators and extremists were working in Los Angeles to spark more violence. He stated Communists had carried on a long campaign of charging police brutality in Los Angeles, which created the climate for an outbreak. Yorty also pointed out that in 1964 the National Urban League had rated Los Angeles as the best large city in the nation for the Negro.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 6, 1966, was an article reporting that the Community Conservation Corps (CCC), funded by the Department of Labor and local organizations, would extend its program through November 30, 1966. The CCC program was established to enlist young people to work in cleaning up and transforming Watts and other areas in Watts, California. The group helped create "vest-pocket parks" and playgrounds throughout the community.

[REDACTED]

// On July 27, 1966, source 2 advised that as of that date [REDACTED], was a member of the Los Angeles Club, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) (see appendix).

On October 7, 1966, source 3 advised that [REDACTED] had been recently indicted by a Los Angeles County Grand Jury on a charge of criminal syndicalism. Source advised [REDACTED] had telephonically contacted Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on October 6, 1966 concerning Carmichael's possible public appearance in Los Angeles to speak for the recently formed "Committee to Defend John Harris" (CDJH).

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

On October 12, 1966, source 4 advised he had learned that Carmichael was coming to Los Angeles in the near future to make speeches in the Watts area. Carmichael's expenses are to be paid by the CDJH, and funds raised by his speeches are to be divided equally between the CDJH and SNCC.

On October 10, 1966, source 5 advised that at a meeting of the Negro Commission, Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) in Los Angeles, Bill Taylor, vice-chairman of the SCDCP, stated that "old" criminal syndicalism laws, originally passed against the Communists, were being used to stop Negroes from speaking. He gave as examples the arrest of Stokely Carmichael in the South and [redacted] in Los Angeles. He stated since this was the case, the Communist Party (CP) must back [redacted] in his court fight and they must do everything to obtain the support of as many organizations as possible. Taylor stated the CP would work through the Southside Citizens Defense Committee (see appendix) or through the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights (see appendix) to help [redacted].

On October 12, 1966, a Special Agent of the FBI obtained a four-page PLP leaflet concerning [redacted] at a literature booth on the University of California at Los Angeles campus. A copy of this leaflet is attached.

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On October 14, 1966, source 1 advised Elmo J. Birkley, male Negro, age 15, was shot and killed by a LAPD officer during the early morning hours of October 14, 1966. Source stated the police chased Birkley in a stolen automobile on a high-speed chase on the Hollywood Freeway. When the car became involved in a minor accident, Birkley leaped out of the car, reached toward his belt as if reaching for a gun and was shot with a shotgun. In the car with Birkley were [redacted], age 26, and [redacted] age 19. Source stated Birkley was on probation, [redacted] was on parole and [redacted] had a prior criminal record including violation of parole, suspicion

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

of burglary and possession of marijuana. (Source 1 stated top police officials were concerned over possible racial violence as a result of the shooting.)

(On October 14, 1966, source 6 furnished a CP, USA Marxist-Leninist (CP, USA M-L) leaflet concerning the shooting of Birkley, a copy of which is attached.) This leaflet announced a meeting concerning the shooting of Birkley, to be held on October 14, 1966.

On October 14, 1966, source 7 advised there was a CP, USA M-L meeting at 9122 South Compton Avenue, Los Angeles, with a total of approximately 16 individuals in attendance.

On October 15, 1966, the LAPD advised that the above meeting started at approximately 8:00 P.M. and appeared to have ended at about 8:30 P.M., as there was no one in attendance at that time. The LAPD estimated approximately 12 persons were in attendance at the meeting.

In the "Valley Times," newspaper of Van Nuys, California, issue of October 18, 1966, Page 16, was an article reporting that the Sons of Watts and the Community Alert Patrol, Negro self-help organizations, were credited with preventing possible incidents during the past week end as a result of the shotgun death of Elmo J. Birkley (above). The article quoted Sergeant Cornelius Cooper, of the LAPD Community Relations Bureau, as stating that teams of men numbering almost 100 from the two organizations were on the streets over the week end to avert possible violence. Sergeant Cooper stated the patrols were "highly successful" and no incidents were reported. Cooper referred to a "CP, USA" (CP, USA M-L) leaflet (above) which was distributed in Watts, which stated Birkley was killed by "police executioners."

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 3, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting a group of middle class Negro women

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

from the Leimert Park section of Los Angeles had formed a group called "The Feminine Touch, Incorporated" to help the residents of Watts and other poor Negro areas of Los Angeles in any way they could. Mrs. [REDACTED] of the organization, stated they were offering to help the areas by doing what the residents felt was necessary, rather than what the group believed was necessary. The group plans to donate half the funds raised to self-help Negro organizations and the other half to the more traditional Negro organizations in order to bring the militant and conservative Negro groups together.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS  
INVOLVED

The following individuals referred to under Section IV  
above are active in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area:

[REDACTED]

Member of the Los Angeles Club, PLP

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Bill Taylor  
Vice-chairman of the SCDCP

Mrs. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

of "The Feminine Touch, Incorporated"

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION  
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL  
OFFICIALS

No change

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY  
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 6, 1966, Page A-1, was an article reporting that Los Angeles Assemblyman Mervyn M. Dymally called for legislation requiring the immediate dismissal of policemen who discharge their weapons when their life is not in danger. Dymally referred to the shooting of a Negro in the recent riot in San Francisco, and to the shooting of May, 1966, of Leonard Deadwyler in Los Angeles. Dymally also criticized police for being insensitive to the problems in "the ghetto" and stated their attitude appeared to be "that crime goes with poverty and that it must be kept from spreading to better neighborhoods."

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

No change.

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# SUPPORT BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES

*Defend John Harris . . . .  
arrested for "criminal syndicalism"*

John Harris, Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts faces 1 to 14 years as a "criminal syndicalist". His crime -- passing out leaflets at the Deadwyler inquest pointing out that the cop who shot Deadwyler was a murderer and moreover denouncing the system that creates such a "legal" murder.

At 5:30 p.m. September 20, 1966, six plainclothesmen broke into the house where John Harris lives. Although claiming to have a warrant they refused to show it. They handcuffed John Harris and then ransacked the apartment throwing things around, ripping down pictures and causing other damage. They carried off boxes of personal property of the three people who live there as "evidence". They also took PL literature that was stored there. For example, they took 250 copies of the new PL magazine, copies of Spark and Free Student. They also took books and notes for classes, all this as "evidence".



## WHAT IS "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM?"

The criminal syndicalism law states that it is illegal to speak or leaflet so as to advocate "change in industrial ownership" or "effect political change" by so-called criminal means. A Grand Jury meeting secretly apparently decided this is what John was doing, and set the bail at \$15,000.

Criminal syndicalism is an anti-labor law passed in 1919 and was last used to convict farm labor organizers in the Sacramento Valley in 1937. The law is meant to deal with revolutionary socialists and is a candid reflection of the undemocratic essence of a class

divided society. Like the anti-riot portions of the proposed Civil Rights law, it is intended as a weapon against those who call for fundamental change. Such was John's offense. He questioned the "justice" of the Deadwyler hearing and advocated revolutionary solutions. In so doing he was in perfect tune with the mood of the black community of South Los Angeles. Clearly, a "criminal syndicalist" is someone who represents a view dangerous to America's rulers. ("You have your freedom until you need it," says Bertrand Russell.)

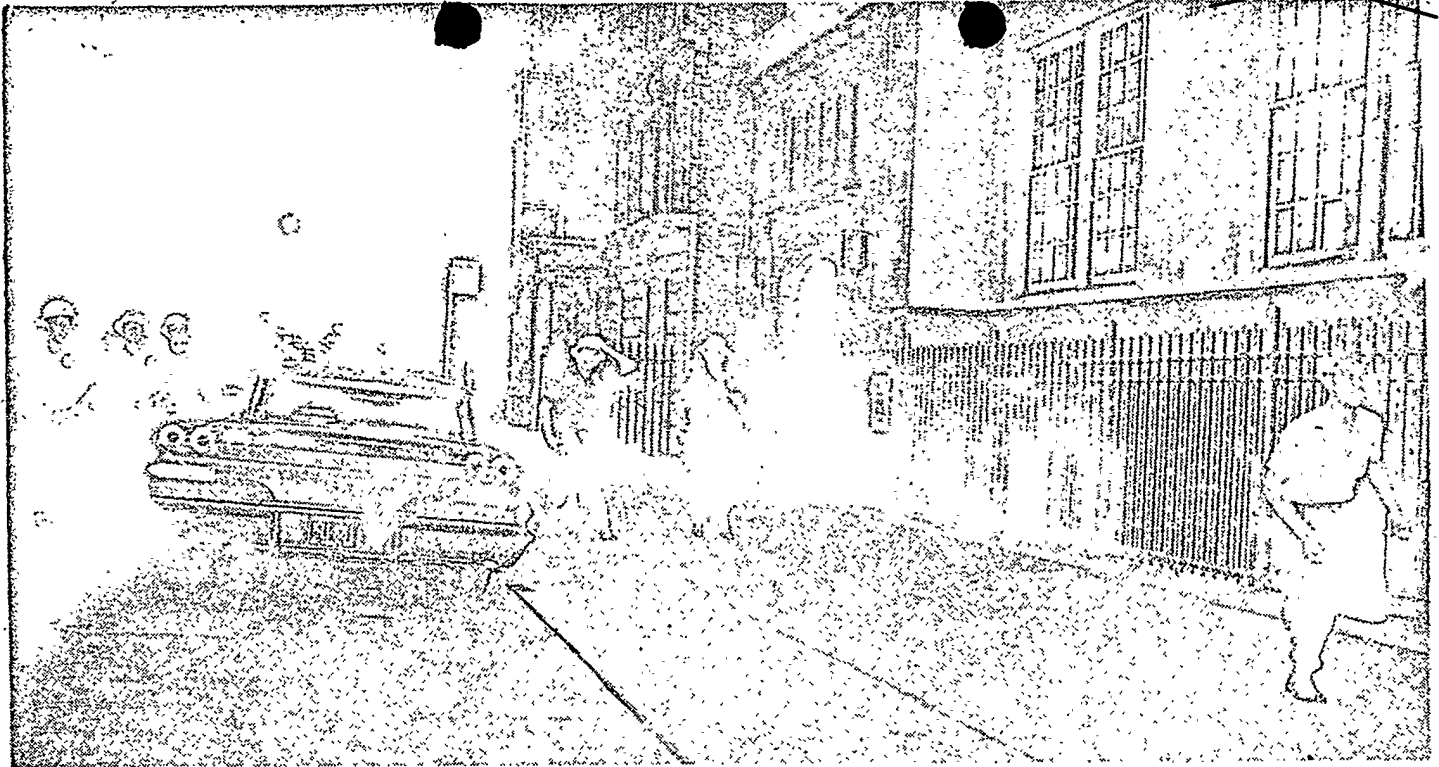
## WHO IS JOHN HARRIS?

John Harris was born and raised in Birmingham, Alabama, the son of a steelworker. From his earliest years, he was exposed to systematic racial oppression and injustice and he early determined to fight it. When in 1960 the freedom riders came to town he joined with them. Later in college he became chairman of the Howard University chapter of SNCC. In 1964 he left school to work in the South where he was project director for SNCC in Sunflower County, Mississippi -- stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan. There he was arrested and beaten by the cops and his home was attacked by the Klan. From his one and a half year's experience in Mississippi he concluded that more basic changes were necessary. He left the South and came to Los Angeles shortly after the Watts rebellion. Having seen the effects of the police riot and having heard about the systematic police murder of scores of black citizens, he decided to do political work in Watts. In December, 1965, impressed with the work of [redacted] and the program of the Progressive Labor Party, he joined PL and became a revolutionary communist.

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## WHY THIS ARREST NOW?

In fact, they are arresting John to scare and terrorize PL members and others who protest conditions in the black ghetto. Although John is not guilty of any criminal or illegal act, he certainly is guilty of protesting the wretched living conditions in Watts. He has spoken and written about the fact that real income in Watts declined 8% since 1960 while rising in the rest of L.A. He has passed out leaflets which pointed out that in Watts is one of the biggest concentrations of industry -- yet black people living there aren't given jobs in these plants, and that there is 37% unemployment there. He has constantly



worked to expose the outrages of Yorty's brutal cops in Watts who constantly murder and maim black people, the Deadwyler case being only one example. He has publically denounced the war in Vietnam and urged his black brothers not to fight in that war. He has told them to oppose the draft and warmly supported such people as Richmond and Key who refused to be inducted on the grounds that they are a colonial minority and shouldn't fight the colonial master's dirty war against colored people of Southeast Asia. What is more, John has held classes which sought to get at the root cause of U.S. oppression both at home and abroad. He has not hesitated to name the real enemy, U.S. imperialism, and has stated unequivocally that imperialism in this country must be replaced by a socialist system. He has stated openly that he is a communist and proud of it. For this he was arrested on "criminal syndicalism".

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## HARLEM - PHILADELPHIA - ATLANTA - LOS ANGELES -

In Harlem, late in 1964 [redacted] of Harlem PL, was indicted for "criminal anarchy" -- his crime - trying to organize a peaceful demonstration to protest the murder of black people during the "police riots" that summer. A year later he was found guilty; he is now out on \$25,000 appeal bond. This summer in Philadelphia, young SNCC workers were falsely charged with possessing dynamite and

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held on huge bail. Their crime -- organizing in the black community. Next it was the turn of the Atlanta cops who, after brutally suppressing a protest by black citizens of another police murder, arrested Stokely Carmichael for inciting to riot. His crime -- advancing the slogan black power. Now in Los Angeles John Harris is arrested for criminal syndicalism. Tomorrow, no doubt, it will be somebody in San Francisco. And the "crime" will again be the same -- organizing the black community around a militant program.

It is clear Johnson is ordering his local stooges to begin a nationwide round-up of all black militants who refuse to sell out, because rebellions in black ghettos are harming his war effort. Though the charges are serious and the bail huge, we declare that the real guilty ones are Johnson and company for pursuing the genocidal war against Vietnam; Yorty and the police who daily are brutally murdering and maiming black people; the General Motors and Goodyear plants in South L.A. who poison the air of Watts but refuse to hire its residents. We must expect that as we get more effective in our protests, repression such as this will get worse. But this won't stop us, on the contrary we will redouble our efforts!

### *WHAT CAN BE DONE?*

Politically, all honest people interested in building a truly just society must break from the "two party" farce conducted by the American ruling class. Work to free themselves and others from the illusions of this system. It was under this "lesser evil" Brown that this frame-up was concocted. Recognize that in the black ghettos the battle has already been joined. That the war against imperialism is a class war. The victory of the Vietnamese people and the struggles of all other colonial peoples is a part of our own crucial struggle against the "free enterprising" system of exploitation and war.

Finally: Support the program and work of John Harris and the Progressive Labor Party. Money is desperately needed.

Progressive Labor Party  
P. O. Box 19930  
Los Angeles 19, California

For information on PL forums and classes, write to the above address.



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## WATTS YOUTH MURDERED BY POLICE

Elmo Jerry Birkley, 15 years old, who lived here in Watts at 8211 John Avenue, was murdered last night by police as he drove on the Hollywood Freeway in North Hollywood. The youth was unarmed and yet he was blown to pieces by a shotgun fired by a racist cop. This murder represents the third murder of an innocent worker in California in the last six months.

The excuse used by the cops for this latest murder was that young Mr. Birkley was driving an "allegedly" stolen automobile. It has not been confirmed that the auto being driven was actually stolen, but even if it was, does driving a stolen automobile warrant the death penalty? Of course not! This killing is another brutal murder by the racist imperialist police. The police are hired killers and thugs of the bourgeoisie whose job it is to beat down the workers and intimidate the poor as much as possible. Just as with Leonard Deadwyler last Spring, or Matthew Johnson in San Francisco last month, the police murdered Elmo Birkley of Watts for being poor, not for any crime he committed against society.

How many more murders by the bourgeois police must there be before they learn their lesson? The people must organize into armed defense units in order to protect themselves from the brutality of the police. The reactionary violence of the ruling class and its police must be met with the revolutionary violence of the people. The only way that the workers can liberate themselves is if they arm with guns and organize for their own defense. The organized, unified strength of the people, led by the Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is invincible.

PROTEST THE POLICE MURDER OF YOUR NEIGHBOR, ELMO JERRY BIRKLEY.  
ATTEND THE PROTEST MEETING TONIGHT, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1966, AT 8 PM,  
AT THE PEOPLE'S VOICE BOOK STORE AND READING ROOM, 9122 SOUTH COMPTON  
AVENUE, LOS ANGELES (CORNER OF S. COMPTON AVENUE AND E. 92ND STREET).  
TELEPHONE: 569-2542.

Stop police brutality; support and join the People's Armed  
Defense Groups. OPPOSE REACTIONARY VIOLENCE WITH REVOLUTIONARY  
VIOLENCE.

Issued by the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), Los Angeles  
Branch.

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of [redacted]. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under [redacted]'s leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

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1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 12, 1966, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,  
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for  
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for  
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born \*\*\*' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees \* \* \* constitute \* \* \* one organization within the meaning of the \* \* \* statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS  
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for  
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for  
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organizations \* \* \* was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party \* \* \* The local affiliates \* \* \* were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 4/25/66 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

SOUTH SIDE CITIZENS  
DEFENSE COMMITTEE (SSCDC)

On September 2, 1965, a source advised that [redacted] stated at a meeting of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) in August, 1965, that the Communist Party (CP) had set up the SSCDC to aid the Negro people and to pay for legal defense for those who needed it.

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A second source advised in November, 1965, that [redacted] was a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, and on November 10, 1965, was elected chairman of the Negro Commission, SCDCP.

On October 6, 1965, a third source advised that at a meeting of the SCDCP in October, 1965, it was reported that the SSCDC was to be operated by the Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP.

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the SSCDC is currently in existence.

APPENDIX

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10/20/65

**AIRTEL**

**AIRTEL**

**AIR MAIL-REGISTERED**

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)**  
**FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)(P)**  
**SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE**  
**MAJOR URBAN AREAS**  
**RACIAL MATTERS**

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to Bureau dated 10/5/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for Bufile 100-442529 (CIRM).

Local military agencies, the U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11)(RM)  
(1 - 100-442529)(CIRM)
- 3 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-65078)

LDY/jac  
(6)

**AIRTEL**

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
FILED \_\_\_\_\_

997



LA 157-943

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity</u>
1	[REDACTED]
2	[REDACTED]
3	PSI [REDACTED]
4	PSI [REDACTED]
5	[REDACTED]
6	Anonymous (leaflet was pushed under reception room door of Los Angeles Division by an unknown individual)
7	[REDACTED]

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b7D

The IIM is classified confidential because data furnished by sources 1 through 5 and source 7 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of a continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

The address of the meeting of the Negro Commission, Southern California District Communist Party, mentioned under Section IV was 325 East 108th Street, the address of a current informant of the Los Angeles Office. For this reason, the address was not set out in the IIM.

The Progressive Labor Party leaflet referred to under Section IV was obtained by SA [REDACTED]

In the two week period from 10/2/66 through 10/16/66, 14 potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised, according to Bureau instructions, regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC LA 66078

DATE: 11-2-66

FROM : SA [Redacted]

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SUBJECT: CIRM  
IS-C

In connection with the destruction of channelizing memoranda, the information contained on the serials listed below was incorporated in a report dated 10-28-66. The review for this report was made from serial 873 through serial 992.

In accordance with the above, the following serials are to be destroyed:

Volume	Serials (List by serial or serial scope.)
12	844, 848, 852, 862, 863
13	868, 870, 872, 873, 876, 877, 880, 881, 882, 888
14	910, 915, 916, 927, 928, 932, 934, 935, 937
15	947, 950, 956, 961, 969, 971, 975, 978, 979, 988

100-66078-999

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED CW	FILED CW
NOV 10 1966	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

DST

No. of copies 4

Approved \_\_\_\_\_  
Destroyed by CW Date 11-1-66

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>LOS ANGELES</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>LOS ANGELES</b>	DATE <b>10/28/66</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>10/17/66 - 10/21/66</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>ssl</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - C</b>	

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REFERENCE: Report of SA  dated 7/28/66, at Los Angeles.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished San Diego and San Francisco for information in view of their mutual interest in matters contained in this report.

This report is classified confidential because data received from confidential informants utilized therein tends to identify sources of continuing value and could possibly compromise their future effectiveness.

Case has been: Pending over one year  Yes  No; Pending prosecution over six months  Yes  No

APPROVED <i>JST</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE				
COPIES MADE: <i>per info for yrs. only.</i> 9-Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1-Region II, Pasadena (RM) 1-OSI, Norton AFB (RM) 1-FIO, San Diego (RM) 1-New York (100-153735) (RM) 1-San Diego (100-13295) (RM) 1-San Francisco (100-53902) (RM) 3-Los Angeles (100-66078)	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW				
	100   66078   998 SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____ SERIALIZED <i>aw</i> FILED <i>aw</i>				
Dissemination Record of Attached Report					
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By	Notations

LA 100-66078

Agent who received Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist (CP, USA M-L) leaflet on 5/26/66, was SA [redacted]

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will submit reports on a quarterly basis.

INFORMANTS:

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
IA T-1 [redacted]	[redacted]
IA T-2 [redacted]	[redacted]
IA T-3 [redacted]	[redacted]
IA T-4 [redacted]	[redacted]
IA T-5 [redacted]	[redacted]
IA T-6 [redacted]	[redacted]

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LA 100-66078

SOURCE

LOCATION

LA T-7  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-8  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of WILLIAM TAYLOR

LA T-9  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-10  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-11  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-12  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-13  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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LA T-14  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-15  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-16  
[REDACTED]

100-66078-962

LA T-17  
[REDACTED]

Characterization of  
[REDACTED]

LA 100-66078

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	
LA T-18 [redacted]	[redacted]	
LA T-19 [redacted]	[redacted]	
LA T-20 [redacted]	[redacted]	
LA T-21 [redacted]	100-66078-894 -962	
LA T-22 [redacted] PSI	100-66078-923	b6 b7C b7D
LA T-23 [redacted]	100-66078-923	
LA T-24 [redacted] PSI	100-66078-991	
LA T-25 [redacted]	Characterization of [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted]	
LA T-26 [redacted]	[redacted]	
LA T-27 [redacted]	[redacted]	

LA 100-66078

SOURCE

LA T-28

[Redacted]

LA T-29

[Redacted]

LOCATION

[Redacted]

b7D

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1-Region II, Pasadena (RM)  
1-OSI, Norton AFB (RM)  
1-FIO, San Diego (RM)

Report of:   
Date: 10/28/66

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Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-66078

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) efforts in racial situations through W. E. B. Du Bois Club and the South Side Citizens Defense Committee (SSCDC) and the SCDCP plans and strategy in helping those in the Negro community set forth. Activities of Communist Party, USA, Marxist - Leninist (CP, USA, M-L); Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist - Leninist Communist Party; and the Progressive Labor Party set forth.

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Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification



LA 100-66078

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY.....	3
(A) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.....	3
(1) SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY.....	3
(2) COMMUNIST PARTY YOUTH MATTERS.....	7
(3) W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS.....	8
(4) SOUTHSIDE CITIZENS DEFENSE COMMITTEE.....	9
(B) OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS.....	10
(1) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA MARXIST - LENINIST.....	10
(2) PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY.....	14
(3) PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY.....	16
II COMMUNIST TACTICS.....	20

LA 100-66078

DETAILS:

All meetings described herein were held in Los Angeles, California, unless otherwise indicated.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

(A) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)

(1) SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)

LA T-1 (5/23/66)  
LA T-2 (6/10/66)

At an SCDCP Youth Convention held on May 21, 1966, at 1853 South Arlington Avenue, a report on the events concerning the LEONARD DEADWYLER inquest was given. The CP decided to take the following action:

1. Try to get other white organizations and peace candidates to make statements demanding that the police officer involved be tried for murder.
2. Organize a telegram and letter writing campaign to the District Attorney demanding the police officer be tried.

Sources advised that the feeling of the CP was that they did not want whites to go to the inquest because they were afraid it might lead to a racial outburst and this was not the image they wanted to portray. It was decided to have a broad press conference on Tuesday, May 24, 1966, where people would make statements. A mass meeting would also be called at which time a demonstration would be called for. The CP wanted to have this demonstration in a white section of town so that no incidents between black and white would occur. They would also try to keep it away from the county courthouse. The CP line is to throw as much attention and pressure as possible on the mayor and chief of police and not have this attention diverted by racial conflict.

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On May 7, 1966, LEONARD DEADWYLER, a Negro, was shot and killed by Los Angeles Police Department Officer [REDACTED], who stopped his car for speeding while DEADWYLER was taking his pregnant wife to the hospital. A coronor's inquest into the shooting of DEADWYLER was held during the weekdays from May 19, to May 31, 1966, on which date the jury returned a majority verdict, "accidental homicide", in the matter.

LA T-3 (6/1/66)  
LA T-4 (6/3/66)

A meeting of the 24th Congressional District Section, SCDCP, was held on May 22, 1966, at 4946 Marathon Avenue, to discuss the Draft Program of the CP. During this discussion the question of Negroes in trade unions and labor in general came up. It was stated that trade unions were not taking civil rights into consideration, and too, that they, the CP, must demand that Negroes be taken into trade unions. It was also stated that the CP's future depended on how the Negro fared in the end; that in order for communists to confront the white person about the problems of the Negro, communists must know the problems of the Negro.

LA T-5 (6/3/66)

A SCDCP district-wide meeting was held on May 27, 1966, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. The Mexican-American resolution was discussed, which dealt with the isolation of the party and the Mexican people and the failure of the party to recognize their shortcomings and potential.

LA T-6 (6/8/66)

At a meeting of the South Central Club, Moranda Smith Section (MSS), SCDCP, held on June 1, 1966, at 5131 South St. Andrews Place, the election of delegates to the SCDCP District Convention took place. All Negroes were elected and one of those present claimed that the fear of offending the Negro and the apparent bending over backward in

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siding with the Negro was happening throughout the party.

LA T-7 (6/13/66)  
LA T-8 (6/20/66)  
LA T-9 (9/1/66)

The SCDCP District Convention was held on June 12, 1966, at Dooto's Music Center, 13440 South Central Avenue. DOROTHY HEALEY was the main speaker and one of her remarks was that every white comrade must be alert regarding civil rights issues; that too many separate organizations were in the civil rights field thereby reducing unity among them; and that no strong front existed by the white community in the Negro movement.

DOROTHY HEALEY is publically known as Chairman of the SCDCP.

LA T-10 (6/17/66)

On June 13, 1966, there was a follow-up meeting of the members of the Resolution Committee and the delegates to the National Convention of the CP, USA. This meeting was held at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. Most of the resolutions for the National Convention were passed on with comments of approval. The resolution on the Negro people's movement was accepted with the agreement that it needed to be strengthened.

LA T-11 (7/12/66)

At a meeting of the Monterey Park Club, SCDCP, held on July 11, 1966, at 332 West Gleason Street, Monterey Park, during a discussion on the Negro movement, one of those present stated that the CP had lost its chance to help the Negro; that they now have so many benefits they could not possibly promise more and then produce.

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LA T-10 (8/3/66)

At a meeting of the Negro Commission, SCDCP, held on July 28, 1966, at 5731 South St. Andrews Place, one of those present projected the idea that the commission should attempt to lay the foundation for the discussion of activities that would bring about the unity of the Negro people with labor and with the white community; that a Negro-Negro, Negro-labor, and Negro-white alliance was of the utmost importance.

LA T-12 (8/2/66)  
LA T-8 (8/10/66)

At a meeting of the District Committee and Section Organizers, SCDCP, held on July 30, 1966, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place, it was stated that the left must work on the common issues in a united way and that the struggle for peace must be tied up with domestic issues in terms of the Negro people's rights. It was also stated that the question of "black power" could and must be understood and worked out by the left and other organized progressive forces.

LA T-13 (8/26/66)

At a meeting of the South Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, held on August 24, 1966, at 1235 West 68th Street, one of those present spoke on the Mexican question and stated that the party must do a lot of work on the Mexican question because most Mexicans did not know what the CP stood for.

LA T-2 (9/8/66)

The SCDCP sponsored a Marxist class held on August 31, 1966, at 1661 Federal Avenue. The topic for this class was "Imperialism and the Negro Revolution." The present and past conditions in the United States around the American Negro were discussed.

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LA T-14 (9/16/66)

On September 11, 1966, the Southwest Regional Conference of Mexican-American CP Members met at 3875 City Terrace Drive. It was stated that they had to unite the Mexican-American and the Negro in their war on poverty program, and too, that within one year a Mexican-American should be appointed to be a spokesman for the CP in connection with Mexican-American matters. It was also stated that one page of the "People's World" (PW) should be printed in the Spanish language.

The PW is a West Coast communist newspaper.

(2) COMMUNIST PARTY YOUTH MATTERS

LA T-2 (6/14/66)

At a meeting sponsored by the SCDCP held on May 20, 1966, at 1853 South Arlington Avenue, there was a discussion on the coming National Convention of the CP, USA. During this discussion a report was given evaluating CP youth activities throughout the country. A comment was made that money was available to sponsor and support full time personnel to work in the Watts area of Los Angeles throughout the summer. Each comrade was urged to evaluate his own abilities and to attempt to organize his life around donating a large portion of time to this summer project. It was stated that the Negro question and its ramifications throughout the country was one of the most important questions in America today in relation to the growth of the party.

LA T-5 (6/17/66)

An SCDCP District-wide meeting was held on June 3, 1966, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. One of those present spoke of the need to unite behind the Negro youth in protesting to the police because they, the Negro youth, were being picked up and beaten for no reason at all. The adults were asked

LA 100-66078 .

to give support to the youth because they were unable to solve their problems.

LA T-15 (8/17/66)

During a discussion of CP youth matters on August 3, 1966, at 1539 Fourth Avenue, one of those present stressed the need to place more Negroes in leadership throughout the youth apparatus and the party as a whole. This person said that he felt that any time one had any type of discussion on the Negro question without the value of a Negro leading the discussion was a mistake.

- (3) W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS  
(SEE APPENDIX FOR W. E. B. DU BOIS  
CLUBS OF AMERICA)
- 

LA T-1 (6/6/66)

On May 31, 1966, a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Los Angeles Du Bois Clubs (LA DBC) was held at 2017½ West Beverly Glen Drive. During the discussion the question of guerilla tactics and violence which the LA DBC would engage in in the event of another Watts riot came up. It was mentioned that a LA DBC "guerilla tactics committee" be formed to work out what the LA DBC could do in the event of another outbreak. One of those present said that if the Negro people wanted the riot, they should support them by rioting along with them.

LA T-1 (7/19/66)

During the LA DBC conference held on July 17, 1966, at the Sunset Recreation Center on the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) campus, all of those present discussed the present Negro movement. He said the left and the LA DBC could not just play an agitational role but that they were actually going to have to get in the struggle and participate in it. He said just pointing out the enemy was not enough

LA 100-66078

but that they had to help the Negro burn down the enemy's place.

LA T-16 (8/22/66)

A special meeting of the LA DBC was held on August 21, 1966, at the Sunset Vista room of the UCLA campus recreational center. [redacted] spoke at this meeting as a representative of the Non-Violent Action Committee, and stated the whites present had better choose their sides now "before the next time," since a white friend or enemy could "get lost in the action." He stated the whites claim they want to help "us poor Negroes" but no whites were seen burning cars or looting last time. He stated, "if it goes again we won't be shooting around the cops this time but at them and with a lot more accuracy to." He stated even the fire bombs would be strategically set. He referred to no particular planned events during his speech.

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LA T-17 (7/9/65)

[redacted] was then a member of the Central Los Angeles Club of the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America.

(4) SOUTH SIDE CITIZENS DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-18 (7/27/66)

LA T-19 (7/18/66)

LA T-20 (7/18/66)

The semi-monthly meeting of the MSS Committee, SCDCP, was held on July 11, 1966, at 5731 South St. Andrews Place, during which meeting the financial condition of the South Side Citizens Devense Committee (SSCDC) was discussed. The Executive Director of this committee had not received any



LA 100-66078

salary for her full time job since January. It was pointed out that this committee was without funds to carry on the legal fights it had been conducting. Several affairs had been organized by the SSCDC to raise money but the party comrades always failed to show up and never got others to attend. It was proposed that the financial condition of the SSCDC be discussed in each party club and section and that each club contribute a monthly sustainer to the committee.

LA T-13 (7/29/66)

Source advised that he learned recently that every CP club in the MSS, SCDCP, had agreed to pay \$.50 extra per month to pay the expenses of the SSCDC.

(B) OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

(1) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MARXIST - LENINIST  
(CP, USA, M-L) (SEE APPENDIX)

On May 26, 1966, a Special Agent of the FBI in Los Angeles obtained a copy of a leaflet captioned, "YORTY is a Liar", issued by the CP, USA, M-L. This leaflet was obtained in front of the Los Angeles County Court House and read as follows:

"Last Saturday, Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles called for the arrest of Communists, and he singled out the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), saying 'the time has come for the arrest and prosecution of persons openly trying to incite riot in our city'. Mayor Yorty is shouting 'red' in a big political grandstand to hide the real facts of the situation, in his popularity contest with his close associate Governor Brown. We say boycott the elections!

"It is really the capitalist system, and not the Communists that was responsible for the recent outbreak in Watts in protest to the murder of Leonard Deadwyler;

LA 100-66078

"it is really the capitalist system, and not the Communists that was responsible for the Watts uprising of August 1965. U.S. imperialism's reactionary and racist policies - as pursued by their representatives Yorty, Parker, and Brown, in oppressing the workers, especially in the minority districts, could bring forth only the most violent protest from the people in response to the reactionary violence of the bourgeois state apparatus. Mayor Yorty is shouting 'red' as a smokescreen to cover for the reactionary policies of U. S. monopoly capital. Yorty has no more right to arrest the Communists than Officer [redacted] had to murder Leonard Deadwyler!

"Yorty, in attacking the Communist Party U. S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), shows that he knows the difference between our Party and the revisionist Dorothy Healey, who is on Yorty's side. It is hard to tell the difference between Yorty and Healey - they are both for 'lower taxes', 'war on poverty', and they both support the Johnson administration. Oh, tell us please do, Mr. Mayor, what are the differences between yourself and Mrs. Healey.

"The Brown-Yorty-Parker administration has already placed its verdict on the Deadwyler case - officer [redacted] will be defended by the court for his murder of Leonard Deadwyler. The inquest is a show trial in which is paraded a score of police officers and witnesses, only to come forward with a pre-determined verdict in support of the police brutality of the bourgeois state apparatus.

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"Our Party states that the workers can fight against police brutality only by organizing into people's defense groups. We must answer the reactionary violence of the ruling class by the revolutionary violence of the people. As our [redacted] stated, 'Our aim is to lead the working class in revolution,

LA 100-66078

"we will develop and encourage people's defense groups for the defense of the working class against the terror of the ruling class'.

"ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (MARXIST-LENINIST)

"For further information, call (213) 569-2542, or write:  
THE SECRETARIAT c/o WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL BOOK STORE  
9122 So. Compton Ave.  
L. A., Calif., 90002"

LA T-21 (7/18/66)

On July 18, 1966, source furnished the following mimeographed leaflet issued by the CP, USA, M-L, entitled "Armed Workers can be Free":

"People of Watts, organize for defense against police brutality. The police, agents of the rich, are paid to keep the poor under direct oppression. They are paid to beat and murder workers. The workers must arm to defend themselves against this reactionary violence. The People's Armed Defense Group is organizing for the protection of workers from police brutality.

"It is the right of everyone to arm for defense against attack. The workers of Watts must use this right. The people can curb the brutality of the police in only one way - by defending themselves.

"The rich are a small minority. They fear the anger of the poor. They must hire 'legalized' murderers (police) to protect their weak, selfish interests. The poor are kept in 'their place' by consistent abuse and attack. 'Their place', according to the capitalist, is in the welfare offices or on jobs that barely pay enough to keep a person alive.

LA 100-66078

"The capitalist system, based on the exploitation of the many by the few, cannot resolve the problems of the poor. The rich grow and remain wealthy on your poverty. In order to keep you poor, hungry, jobless and without the basic necessities of modern life which are rightfully yours, the rich must use violence. They depend on the police to use brutality against the workers. You need not take this abuse. Police brutality can be checked if the people are armed in their own defense.

"Mayor Yorty and Police Chief Parker are representatives of the rich and administrators of police brutality. They are not concerned with the democratic rights of the people. They will not protect or help you. They are paid to keep you oppressed and exploited. You cannot depend on these officials of the bourgeois state for help. The working class can only depend on themselves. Organized into self defense groups, the people can begin to protect their rights and interests. The People's Armed Defense Group can help you organize self defense groups.

"JOIN NOW! COME TO:  
9122 S. Compton Avenue  
Los Angeles, Calif., 90002  
Phone: 569-2542

"PUBLIC MEETINGS on alternate Fridays at 8:00 p.m.  
NEXT MEETINGS: July 1, July 15, July 29, August 12

"Free sample magazines: Workers' International Book Store  
featuring REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE FROM AROUND THE WORLD  
COME IN

"ISSUED BY THE PEOPLE'S ARMED DEFENSE GROUP AND THE LOS ANGELES BRANCH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST - LENINIST)

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!"

LA 100-66078

LA T-22 (7/31/66)

At a weekly meeting of the CP, USA, M-L, held on July 29, 1966, in Los Angeles, a proposed demonstration in front of the Watts Police Department to commemorate the killing of Watts workers in August, 1965, was planned for August 11, 1966. They planned to use a truck and loudspeaker to create a disturbance.

LA T-23 (8/13/66)

Source advised that the above proposed demonstration on August 11, 1966, had not taken place and that the club had no current plans for such a demonstration.

(2) PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC) (SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-21 (8/29/66)

On August 29, 1966, source furnished the following leaflet issued by the POC on the first anniversary of the Watts riot of August, 1965:

## WATTS - ONE YEAR AFTER

One year has passed since the Watts uprising. In that year, the whole character of the Negro Revolution has changed. To the everlasting glory of Watts, it was here that the struggle of the working class to take the leadership of the Negro Liberation movement was completed.

In history, Watts represents a whole new level of struggle. The bitter bloody battles of Chicago, Omaha, Cleveland and New York are extensions of the process that began here. No matter what the Toms or the state may do, the imperialists concept of 'peaceful non-violent integration' was smashed forever in the streets of Watts. In this fact lies the historical significance of Watts.

Since last August, the process of political division of the people has gone on very rapidly. In the hope of destroying the peoples movement, the government has brought up hundreds of Negroes. Traitors, who a year ago were fighting the police and National Guard, have accepted the bribe and appear daily on the enemys T.V. and in the enemys press. For the cash payment of a few dollars and a political pat on the head, they join the enemy camp and praise the police and the political structure of the state. The militants turned Uncle Tom. Good riddance - honest workers have taken their places. On the other hand, the Uncle Toms who were isolated by the uprising have attempted to change hats and try to appear as militants. They fool no one. In a final effort to hold back the movement, the revisionist Communist Party of the USA openly joined the imperialists and ran candidates in the election fraud. They urged the people of Watts to vote in elections organized by the imperialists. The people of Watts had already voted in the streets - No more oppression - no more exploitation! Watts rejected the trap prepared by their enemies - the revisionist phoney Communists, the DuBois Clubs and all the political filth who urged them to 'register and vote'.

The struggle in Watts has not stopped. Hardly a week goes by but there is a violent battle in the streets against the fascist police. The poverty in Watts is a continuing fact. The 5,000 jobs boasted about by Brown and Yorty are filled by the children of Watts who slave with picks and shovels and brooms in the hot summer sun, while children in other areas spend summers at the beach and in camps. Watts has become the happy hunting ground for the most vile type of opportunists who are trying to make political hay off of the misery of the people. No one can deceive and subdue the people. We PCC Communists are confident of their final victory.

This fight is fundamentally a class struggle. No force on earth can stop it. The end can come only with the workers overthrowing the ruling class and establishing Socialism in America. This is the path taken by all working classes and all oppressed peoples. By taking and converting all industry and land to use by the people and not for private profit, national oppression, poverty and war will end.

Watts represents a high point in the Negro revolution - the the movement of the worker

LONG LIVE WATTS - SYMBOL OF STRUGGLE

LONG LIVE THE NEGRO PEOPLE - FIGHTERS FOR LIBERTY, BULFORK AGAINST FASCISM

LONG LIVE THE WORKING CLASS - BUILDERS OF THE FUTURE

( issued by the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute A Marxist Leninist Communist Party in the United States. For further information, write VANGUARD, Box 72306, Watts Station, Los Angeles California)

READ VANGUARD

READ VANGUARD

READ VANGUARD

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(3) PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP) (SEE APPENDIX)

On May 26, 1966, the following flyer issued by the PLP was distributed in front of the Los Angeles County Courthouse regarding the DEADWYLER inquest which was in progress:

"Wanted for the Murder of Leonard Deadwyler:  
(a member of the concentration camp) 'Bova - the -  
cop' (a guard in the concentration camp)

"Bova is just one cop in the police department. They must be all wiped out before there is complete freedom. South Los Angeles - Watts is one big concentration camp in which its citizens are subject to systematic extermination.

"WE MUST LEARN TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY BEFORE WE ARE ALL EXTERMINATED.

"THE MEMBERS OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP CAN BE WIPED OUT BY HUNGER ALSO. THAT'S WHY UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGH.

"South Los Angeles is a big industrial complex. There are factories that employ thousands right in the backyards -- (General Motors on Alameda and Goodyear on Central just to name two large ones) - of our homes.

"Black people make up 80% of the South L. A. area. Black people should make up 80% of the work force in the South L. A. Area.

"WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO WORK WHERE WE LIVE.

"The slogan should be raised:  
'IF 80% OF US DON'T WORK HERE, YOU DON'T PRODUCE.'  
Production can be stopped.

LA 100-66078

"Murder by cops and death by unemployment  
are methods of systematic extermination.

"THIS EXTERMINATION ISN'T GOING TO BE STOPPED  
BY GOING TO THE COURT OF THE EXTERMINATOR AS ADVISED  
BY SOME 'NEGRO' POLITICIANS AND PREACHERS.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARIES  
NEVER WENT TO KING GEORGE'S COURT FOR JUSTICE.  
THEY SMASHED KING GEORGE'S COURT. THE JEWS NEVER  
ASKED TO GO TO HITLER'S COURT.

"THE CONCENTRATION CAMP MUST DEVELOP ITS OWN  
COURT AND ITS OWN METHOD OF TRIAL.....

"These slogans must be raised:

'BRING PARKER, YORTY, AND BOVA TO TRIAL FOR M U R D E R -  
IN A COURT OF THE PEOPLE.'

'DISARM THE GUARDS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP'.

'IF 80% OF US DON'T WORK IN THE FACTORIES, YOU DON'T  
PRODUCE!!!!'

"Progressive Labor Party  
399-6819"

On June 1, 1966, Mr. [REDACTED]  
Federal Court, Los Angeles, furnished a copy of the following  
leaflet captioned, "The Need for Revolution", issued by  
the PLP concerning the DEADWYLER case. Mr. [REDACTED] stated  
he obtained this leaflet which was being distributed  
outside the DEADWYLER inquest on an unknown date:

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LA 100-66078

"'..Shall the millions forever submit to robbery, to murder, to ignorance, and every unnamed evil which an irresponsible tyranny can devise, because the overthrow of that tyranny would be productive of horrors? We say not. The recoil, when it comes, will be in exact proportion to the wrongs inflicted; terrible as it will be, we accept and hope for it...'

"Frederick Douglass  
-1856

"There are 50,000 unemployed black workers in the South Los Angeles Area. Eighty percent of the South L. A. area is black yet black people make up only some 5% of the jobs in factories right in the neighborhood like General Motors on Alameda and Goodyear on Central. Contrary to the lies preached by the capitalists and their apologists, 90% of the jobs in these factories can be done by illiterates. How much training does it take to put a wheel on a car in an assembly line or turn a bolt. The retraining program IS A FRAUD!!!

"Between 1960 and 1965 the average white family income in Los Angeles rose 14% - but the black family's income fell 8%.

"Every killing that happened at the hands of the cops during the August rebellion was ruled 'justifiable homicide.' Was it justifiable to shoot people in their apartments or anywhere?

"Why? - The cops, Yorty, Parker, Brown, and the whole lot are paid to protect the interests of the rich white imperialists. Those who own factories like GM and Goodyear. South L. A. is a big industrial complex with enough jobs for everyone in the area.

LA 100-66078

"The national guard was really sent in to protect the big industries, not the small corner stores, liquor stores, and pawn shops.

"It is these big industrialists and their spokesmen like Yorty and Brown who must be defeated.

"They can't be defeated by pleading and begging. Any nation has the right to revolution and self-determination. REVOLUTION IS NECESSARY. They must be totally replaced. Revolution means a complete overthrow of the system. NO ACCOMMODATION!! NO COMPROMISE. The community must be organized block by block. There must be a block leader for each 20 houses who organizes for defensive and offensive actions. Maps must be constructed of the whole neighborhood.

"We must not fear revolution but we must welcome it.

'...Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me. No, you need a revolution....'

"Malcolm X  
--1964

"Welcome revolution --Organize for Revolution.  
Progressive Labor Party  
399-6819 or WE 3-0463"

LA 100-66078

LA T-24 (10/12/66)

On October 12, 1966, [ ] stated that the PLP was going to pass out literature in the Watts area of Los Angeles in the next few days concerning the recent arrest of [ ] for criminal syndicalism by the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office. [ ] commented that if [ ] was not freed, "We will really get a riot going." It was also mentioned that at a meeting of the Committee to Defend John Harris (CDJH) held at 1169 Mullen Avenue, on October 11, 1966, the PLP would attempt to pack the courtroom during the trial of [ ] with PLP members and sympathizers.

LA T-25 (7/27/66)

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[ ] and [ ] as of July 27, 1966, were both members of the Los Angeles Club, PLP.

[ ] was indicted by the Los Angeles County Grand Jury under the California Criminal Syndicalist Act. Mr. [ ] was arrested at his home, [ ] Venice, on September 20, 1966. The indictment charged that Mr. [ ] allegedly distributed leaflets concerning LEONARD DEADWYLER during the inquest of that case.

II COMMUNIST TACTICS

LA T-6 (6/13/66)

At a meeting of the South Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, held on June 8, 1966, at 1235 West 68th Street, one of those present reported that a committee had been formed to try to work with the problems of the Watts and other Negro communities. Other organizations have representatives

LA 100-66078

on this committee and these representatives are aware that CP members are an integral part of the committee. It was stated that the formation of this committee was not for public information for fear of repercussions and reprisals. The main purpose of this committee was to try to get Chief of Police PARKER out of office.

LA T-26 (6/14/66)

On June 12, 1966, BILL TAYLOR stated he was on the Citizens Alert Patrol, a Negro patrol which has been formed to keep a watch on the activities of the police in the arrests of Negroes.

LA T-8 (10/5/66)

BILL TAYLOR is a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

LA T-1 (7/19/66)  
LA T-27 (8/8/66)

On July 15, 1966, Political Affairs Forum (PAF) (See Appendix) sponsored a meeting to hear a report on the National Committee of the CP, USA, held at Baces Hall, 1528 North Vermont Avenue. BILL TAYLOR discussed the Negro situation with regard to the party and how the party would help all the civil rights movement.

LA T-28 (7/29/66)

A meeting of the Negro Commission, SCDGP was held on July 28, 1966, at the residence of BILL TAYLOR, 5731 South St. Andrews Place. TAYLOR spoke about the Temporary Alliance of Local Organizations (TALO), stating that it was the best hope of the community at the present time and that it included all categories from the Negro community with no whites allowed. He said there was to

LA 100-66078

be a left caucus organized in TALO which would include the communists and their allies and that they would meet monthly to coordinate their voting.

LA T-29 (8/30/66)

On August 14, 1966, the SSCDC operated a booth at the Watts Festival. They sold bulletins and handed out literature which had been prepared by the Executive Director of the SSCDC.

LA T-12 (8/30/66)

At a meeting of organizational secretaries of the MSS, SCDCP held on August 23, 1966, at 3048 Victoria Avenue, one of those present said he felt that the Watts Festival would bring about a better relationship between Negroes and whites and felt that the festival could serve to attract more attention toward solving some of the major problems that still existed in Watts.

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of [redacted]. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

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On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under [redacted]'s leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 12, 1966, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

SOUTH SIDE CITIZENS  
DEFENSE COMMITTEE (SSCDC)

On September 2, 1965, a source advised that [redacted] stated at a meeting of the Southern Californis District Communist Party (SCDCP) in August, 1965, that the Communist Party (CP) had set up the SSCDC to aid the Negro people and to pay for legal defense for those who needed it.

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A second source advised in November, 1965, that [redacted] was a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, and on November 10, 1965, was elected [redacted] of the Negro Commission, SCDCP.

On October 6, 1965, a third source advised that at a meeting of the SCDCP in October, 1965, it was reported that the SSCDC was to be operated by the Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP.

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the SSCDC is currently in existence.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

POLITICAL AFFAIRS FORUM

A source advised on May 12, 1966, that the Political Affairs Forum came into being in February, 1963, with the holding of a public meeting in Los Angeles, California, featuring BEN DAVIS, Communist Party National Secretary. At this meeting, DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), announced that the Political Affairs Forum was created by herself and other local Communist Party functionaries for the purpose of presenting nationally known communist spokesmen. It is not a membership organization but is strictly a name utilized to present communist functionaries at public gatherings.

APPENDIX



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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times", April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge", page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR  
A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 142-143.

1. Found to be "a new Communist splinter group." The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party "also known as the POC \* \* \* was formed in August, 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who were dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the party and, while within it, had referred to themselves as the Marxist-Leninist Caucus."

"The leaders and participants in the Provisional Organizing Committee group had been expelled from the Communist Party on the technical charge of 'disruptive, factional, anti-party activities.'

"The POC group is composed largely of extreme left-wing elements from the Communist Party. Throughout the party's history, there have been contending right and left-wing factions which, in periods of turmoil such as the party has gone through in the recent past, have fought for control. The POC elements lost out in this recent struggle within the U.S. party \*\*\*."

"The one fact that is completely clear today is that the POC group is made up of hard-core, dedicated, and extremist Communists, who despite their present differences with the Communist Party leadership, are intent upon doing all within their power to speed the achievement of the goals of international communism."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1959, House Report 1251, February 8, 1960, pp. 69 and 70.)

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Los Angeles, California  
October 28, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></span> dated and captioned as above at Los Angeles, California

b6  
b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>10/28/66</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>10/18-24/66</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>drc</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS - C</b>	b6 b7C

REFERENCE

Report of SA LEO A. SCHON at San Francisco 8/2/66.

-P\*-

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished to New York, office of origin, and to other offices because of their interest in CP activities within the San Francisco Division as they relate to similar activity within their respective areas.

Pursuant to Bureau instructions, copies have been furnished to local intelligence agencies.

This report is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" because data reported from SF T-1 through SF T-13 if disclosed could reasonably be identified as confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE:		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; margin: 0;"><i>100-66078-1001</i></p> <p>SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____          SERIALIZED <i>aw</i> FILED <i>aw</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">NOV 2 1966</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FBI - LOS ANGELES</p> <p><i>Sum</i></p> </div>		
9-Bureau (100-442529)(RM)				
1-NISO, 12th ND, San Francisco (RM)				
2-G-2, 6th Army (RM)				
1-OSI, Travis Air Force Base (RM)				
1-Honolulu (INFO)(RM)		Notations <div style="margin-left: 20px;"> <p><i>Info )</i></p> <p><i>Corrections in report per SF R/S dated 11-18-66 gst</i></p> </div>		
① Los Angeles (100-66078)(RM)				
1-New York (100-153735)(INFO)(RM)				
1-Portland (INFO)(RM)				
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Agency				
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How Fwd.				
By				

SF 100-53902  
LHJ:drc

The Special Agents of the FBI who observed the demonstration of the PLP in San Francisco on 9/28/66 are FRANCIS T. DAVIS and HARRY K. WINECOFF.

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Will continue to follow the activities of the CP and other subversive groups in racial matters and submit report on a quarterly basis.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is [redacted]

[redacted]  
157-400-856

SF T-2 is [redacted]

[redacted]  
157-400-600

SF T-3 is [redacted]

[redacted]  
Documentation of [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Documentation of [redacted]

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SF T-4 is [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-5 is [redacted]

[redacted]  
Documentation of [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Documentation of [redacted]  
[redacted]

SF T-6 is [redacted]

157-400-857

SF T-7 is [redacted]

157-400

COPIES CONTINUED FROM COVER PAGE A

- 1-Seattle (INFO)(RM)
- 1-San Diego (INFO)(RM)
- 3-San Francisco (100-53902)

SF 100-53902  
LHJ:drc

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-8 is

157-400

SF T-9 is

"

SF T-10 is

*NOT used*

SF T-11 is

"

SF T-12 is

"

SF T-13 is

Activities of SACCORE and  
SANAAFACP  
Position of   
in SACORE

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SF T-14 is

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Copy to: 1-NISO, 12th Naval District, San Francisco (RM)  
 2-G-2, 6th Army (RM)  
 I-OSI, Travis Air Force Base (RM)

Report of: 

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Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

10/28/66

b7c

Field Office File # 100-53902

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

## Synopsis:

In July 1966 ROSCOE PROCTOR of the National Committee CP, USA, gave a report to CP members of the activities of the National Convention CP and outlined CP position on minorities and civil rights. East Bay CP Industrial Club held meetings in June 1966 to lay plans and strategy of getting Negroes admitted into the Iron Workers Union. Members of the Fillmore Club of the CP of San Francisco held a meeting in August 1966 to collect money and give assistance to jailed demonstrators sentenced for Sheraton-Palace Hotel sit-ins of 1964. Members of CP of Northern California Negro Commission held meetings in August 1966 on black nationalism to influence people in minority, civil rights and political groups. The PLP on 9/28/66 demonstrated in San Francisco against use of National Guard to quell San Francisco racial riots. Meetings of the Committee for Lowndes County held in Berkeley, California, to raise funds and give assistance to Lowndes County in their racial problems, this committee being controlled by SWP and YSA members. CP strategy and proposed plan of action during San Francisco racial riots of 9/27-29/66 set out. CP member is chairman of SACCORE.

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DETAILSI. COMMUNIST STRATEGYA. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and declassification



SF 100-53902  
LHJ:drc

1. Plans, strategy, Party line, as revealed in Party publications and other propaganda media such as written directives, press releases and the like

No information received under this category.

2. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at national meetings, including expressions by national leaders and other functionaries

A meeting of the CP was held at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, on July 24, 1966. At this meeting ROSCOE PROCTOR, a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, gave a report on the National Convention of the CP, USA, to CP members in the Northern District CP of California. PROCTOR reported on the program of the CP concerning minorities, civil rights, and the Negro question. PROCTOR reported that the CP favors self-defense by Negroes when attacked. He also reported that the Negroes must have an alliance with labor. He also stated that there must be "racism" not only in the normal day-to-day living but also within the CP. He reported that years ago "we used the term" white chauvinism but now the term is "racism." PROCTOR stated Negroes must build a political power bloc if further advances are to be made for the Negro people.

SF T-1, July 24, 1966  
SF T-2, August 10, 1966

2. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at district and lower level meetings including expressions by local leaders and rank and file members

A meeting of the East Bay CP Industrial Club was held at 2718 Alcatraz Avenue, Berkeley, California, on June 27, 1966. At this meeting there were present two members from the youth club of the CP of Northern California, namely, [redacted] and [redacted]. The chairman of this meeting was [redacted] who stated that the primary subject for discussion was a report from the two members of the youth club who were members of the Iron Workers Union. [redacted] called upon [redacted] to make a report upon progress being made to integrate the Iron Workers Union. [redacted] stated that it was necessary for Negroes to penetrate the Iron Workers Union and get as many Negroes into the union as possible under the

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program of the CP being the vanguard in Negro movements. [redacted] reported that the Federal Government has established an apprenticeship program under which the Government will pay the employee half of the base salary as an iron worker under the apprenticeship program. However, he charged that the Federal Government did not know that it was being "hoodwinked" out of several thousand dollars especially in their contracts with employers which stated that there would be no discrimination because of race, creed, color, and so forth. He charged that some of the building trade unions have come up with an aptitude test which does not pertain to the building trades. He charged that the aptitude test used in the Iron Workers Union did not pertain to the work that an iron worker has to do and the aptitude test is only a gimmick to keep the Negroes out of the union.

[redacted] did state that the employers are ignorant of the fact that this aptitude test is being used by the Iron Workers Union, however, it is necessary for the Negroes and the CP to attempt to remove from the executive board of the Iron Workers Union individuals who are keeping the Negroes out of the union.

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[redacted] continued the discussion started by [redacted] and elaborated upon the aptitude test. His discussion concerned the mathematical problems that were given to Negroes and how they were tested in repairing refrigerators, TVs, radios and other electrical appliances which had nothing to do with the work of a member of the Iron Workers Union. [redacted] reported that there would be a legal contest in the courts of this aptitude test which had nothing to do with the work of an iron worker and it was necessary for the CP to finance and support a legal contest in the courts to show discrimination against the Negroes in the Iron Workers Union.

SF T-3, June 27, 1966

A meeting of the Fillmore Club of the CP of San Francisco was held August 10, 1966, at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco. At this meeting the proposal was made that the Fillmore Club collect money for the youths who were at that time incarcerated in the San Francisco County Jail serving sentences for convictions on a racial demonstration held in 1964 at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel. There was also a discussion at this meeting about racial demonstrations in Eastern cities. It was the feeling of those present that in the very near future the United States will undergo a major change in areas of racial discontent and that certain housing improvements for minorities would result. It was

SF 100-53902  
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felt that the CP should attempt to further infiltrate these demonstrating groups and attempt to bring understanding to those minorities that the CP is willing to help them as much as possible. [redacted], a member of the Negro Commission of the CP of Northern California, asked for members of the Fillmore CP Club to accompany her to San Bruno, Jail #1 of the San Francisco County Jail, to visit the young people who were incarcerated and to furnish them with money to buy necessities which might be needed while they were incarcerated.

SF T-4, August 29, 1966

3. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like as revealed in Party publications and other propaganda media such as written directives, press releases and the like

No information received under this category.

B. OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

1. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at national meetings, including expressions of national leaders and other functionaries

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[redacted] called a meeting of Negro people at her residence, 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco, California, on August 1, 1966. [redacted] is an employee of the "People's World" newspaper and a member of the Negro Commission of the CP of Northern California.

The "People's World" is a West Coast communist publication.

[redacted] requested CP member [redacted] to call this meeting of young Negroes who were interested in or belong to political action groups and civil rights groups. [redacted] was concerned that there were so few Negroes in the current civil rights activities in San Francisco and that civil rights agitation in San Francisco at that time was at a standstill. [redacted] desired that the Negroes should do more to improve their condition, especially in the Hunters Point and Bayview districts. There was a discussion concerning the black nationalist groups such as the Afro-American society going into the ghettos and infiltrating student

SF 100-53902  
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programs in the schools. There was a discussion that the Negroes must take a militant stand against the white people if they were to accomplish their aims for civil rights, housing, jobs, and equal status in the community. At this meeting [redacted] [redacted] who led the discussion along with [redacted] revealed to those present that he was a member of the CP.

SF T-5, August 1, 1966

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A second meeting was held at the instigation of [redacted] on August 9, 1966, at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco. This meeting consisted of a debate on the subject of black nationalism vs. black power. At this meeting [redacted] [redacted] told those present if he was given an ultimatum by the CP to choose between black nationalism and Marxism he would take the position of black nationalism. Others present at the meeting stated that the CP position on Marxism is the only true way to solve the race problem in the United States. There was controversy between those present on the subject of black nationalism and Marxism and some present stated that the black nationalists in the United States are hypocrites and liars. The final conclusion among those present was that the CP position on the Negro question was proper and Marxism was the only method open to the Negroes for their liberation.

SF T-5, August 9, 1966

The Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) on September 28, 1966, staged a demonstration at 16th and Mission Streets, San Francisco, California, which attracted approximately 60 people. This was a demonstration during the San Francisco racial riots which occurred between September 27 and September 29, 1966. Speakers at this corner rally tied the San Francisco racial disturbances with a general attack on United States policies in Vietnam, the war on poverty, the lack of welfare benefits, and a protest against the use of the National Guard to quell the riots in San Francisco. Those present were urged to picket the National Guard Armory, 14th and Mission Streets, San Francisco, California, to protest the use of the National Guard to stem the riots in San Francisco. Pickets then moved from 16th and Army Street to the National Guard and from there to the San Francisco City Hall and Civic Center to picket a meeting scheduled by the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors who were then in a discussion concerning the cause of the racial disturbances in San Francisco triggered by the killing of MATTHEW JOHNSON, a 16-year old boy by a San Francisco police officer. The pickets of PLP carried signs stating "JOE don't

SF 100-53902  
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Have To Go to Vietnam" and "Take the Guns Away from the Cops."  
The group was addressed by [redacted]  
[redacted], and [redacted] all members of the PLP of  
the Bay Area. Special Agents of the FBI observed these individuals  
at the meeting urging those present to protest police brutality  
and the use of the National Guard to stem the riots.

SF T-6, September 28, 1966

A characterization of the BAPLP  
is contained in the appendix.

A business meeting of the Lowndes County Committee,  
Berkeley chapter, was held September 6, 1966. At this meeting  
were present [redacted] of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA),  
[redacted] of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), [redacted]  
of the SWP and YSA, and [redacted] of the YSA. The chairman  
of the meeting was [redacted] and he announced that the prime  
reason for the meeting was to secure a financial report on funds  
that were to be made available for Lowndes County, Alabama.

SF T-14, September 3, 1966

A second meeting of the Lowndes County Committee  
was held on September 13, 1966, for the purpose of raising funds  
to be sent to the individuals fighting for civil rights in  
Lowndes County, Alabama. It was reported that \$550 had been  
sent to civil rights workers in Lowndes County which had been  
raised by the Berkeley chapter.

SF T-14, September 14, 1966

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization, also known  
as the Black Panther Party, was originated in Berkeley, California,  
by a group of 25 to 30 individuals on July 18, 1966. On this  
date a meeting was arranged by [redacted] of the YSA and  
[redacted] of the SWP. At this meeting [redacted] spoke about the  
economic, political and social conditions in Lowndes County,  
Alabama. [redacted] stated that a group called the Lowndes County  
Freedom Party was attempting to seize political leadership in  
this community and that he had been in contact with this  
group and they appealed for outside aid in the form of publicity  
and funds.

SF T-14, July 20, 1966

A characterization of the YSA and  
SWP is contained in the appendix.

## II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

SF 100-53902  
LHJ:drc

A. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), USA

1. Information concerning CP direction and influence over and participation in racial demonstrations, disturbances, drives, boycotts, and other similar activities with racial overtones.

A source reported on September 27, 1966, that during the racial disturbances in San Francisco, California, there appeared to be no organized pattern underlying the racial disturbances emanating from subversive or radical groups or other outside sources in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas.

SF T-7, September 28, 1966

A source advised on September 27, 1966, that during the racial disturbances in the Fillmore area between the hours of 9 p.m. and 12 midnight it appeared that all the trouble was caused by roving bands of young Negroes throwing rocks and breaking windows but that there was no organized group of individuals who were leading the rioters.

SF T-8, September 28, 1966

On September 29, 1966, the CP leaders in San Francisco were concerned about the racial disturbances in San Francisco and they discussed the advisability of having the chairman of the CP, namely, ALBERT J. LIMA, issue a public statement disavowing any CP responsibility for the racial violence in San Francisco and at the same time deploring the conditions of the Negroes which caused the outbreak. The CP leaders felt a statement was necessary because they understood that an unidentified news source had charged that the CP was involved in the violence.

SF T-9, September 29, 1966

On October 5, 1966, it was reported that [redacted] [redacted], former [redacted] of the CP of San Francisco, stated that the CP was taken by complete surprise by the racial riots because conditions in San Francisco were not considered to be explosive. After the disturbances broke out the CP through some of their youth members tried to intercede through their racial contacts among young Negroes to calm conditions and not arouse the Negroes. CP leaders believed that a tenseness of racial relations is undesirable because it defeats CP policy

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and makes the solution of civil rights problems more difficult in the long run.

SF T-~~10~~<sup>2</sup>, October 5, 1966

It was reported on September 30, 1966, that [ ] of the San Francisco County CP, consulted with other CP leaders on September 28, 1966, to obtain a consensus on the tone of a statement which the CP was considering issuing on the racial riots. [ ] claimed that he had heard a telecast on TV which attributed to the CP some responsibility for the racial riots. [ ] believed that this alleged complicity should be denied and that the CP should also note that the riots were the outgrowth of discrimination in hiring Negroes, lack of jobs and additional opportunities for Negroes, inadequate housing and other undesirable ghetto conditions effecting the Negro people.

SF T-9, September 30, 1966

It was reported on September 29, 1966, that members of the PLP rushed out and participated in the racial disturbances in San Francisco in an effort to capitalize upon them.

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SF T-11, September 29, 1966

On October 6, 1966, a meeting of the CP of San Francisco was held at which time [ ], a member of the CP of San Francisco and former business manager of the "People's World" newspaper, made an extremely caustic criticism of the CP, stating that there was a total lack of CP leadership during the San Francisco racial disturbances. At this meeting [ ] stated he was appalled because no special meeting of the CP was called, not even a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fillmore Club of the CP, which is made up of CP members, especially Negroes, living in the Fillmore district of San Francisco which was one of the troubled areas during the racial disturbances. He was particularly caustic because the CP did not even offer a press release of any kind to the news media on TV or radio stations concerning the CP position during the racial disturbances. He charged failure of the CP to take any action which goes to prove that the CP does not know what is going on and are completely isolated from the mainstream of the masses concerning the Negro people. [ ] added that if those present at that meeting thought his remarks condemning CP leadership were too harsh, they were, in fact, extremely mild compared to what he planned to say of a critical nature at the next meeting of the San Francisco County Committee

SF 100-53902  
LHJ:drc

of the CP concerning the Negro question. [ ] stated he could only conclude that if a communist revolution actually occurred the Party would be asleep and know nothing about it.

SF T-12, October 6, 1966

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

As of August 1, 1966, the Southern Alameda Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Alameda Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (SACORE) are the only two organizations in the East Bay District of the San Francisco Bay Area that are sponsoring integration in Alameda County. SACORE is the primary force prodding integration in housing, jobs, and social organizations in Alameda County. The chairman of SACORE is [ ] a member of the CP of Northern California. [ ] in 1964 was a chairman of the CP Club of the East Bay and regularly attended meetings known as CP club chairmen meetings during 1964.

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SF T-13, August 1, 1966

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

No information to report.



1

BAY AREA PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, aka.  
Bay Area Progressive Movement  
Bay Area Progressive Labor,  
"Progressive Labor"

The masthead in the February 8, 1965, issue of "Spark" reflects it is published by the Progressive Labor Movement of the Bay Area, P. O. Box 73, Station A, Berkeley....page 4 of this issue of "Spark" carries an article describing MORT SCHEER as the "West Coast organizer" of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM).

A source advised on January 7, 1965, that MORTIMER SCHEER, following a press conference in San Francisco, California, on January 7, 1965, related that he was the West Coast Organizer for the PLM and National Vice Chairman. PLM was started about three years ago as a national organization located mainly in the New York and Buffalo areas, and he has been here since last July striving to organize PLM. He stated PLM has several publications, including "Progressive Labor", a monthly, and the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly."

The April 19, 1965, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle, a daily San Francisco newspaper, carried an article which related that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was officially formed April 18, 1965, after a four-day convention in New York. PLP was formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement and MORT SCHEER was elected as one of the vice-presidents of PLP.

A second source advised during May, 1966, that the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) has no headquarters. The Mission Club BAPLP has rented space at 2929 - 16th Street, San Francisco, California. MORTIMER SCHEER, West Coast Organizer for BAPLP, operates out of his residence.

APPENDIX

1

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938 and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on April 22, 1966, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later state in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The Source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised April 28, 1966, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of three locals: the San Francisco YSA, the Berkeley YSA, and the San Jose YSA.

The first source advised on April 28, 1966, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. SF 100-53902

October 28, 1966

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL  
MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated and captioned as above,  
at San Francisco, California

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

11/3/65

SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13235)(P)

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
IS - C

Re report of SA EDWIN F. DOOLEY dated 7/29/65 at  
San Diego.

No pertinent information developed since  
referenced report.

San Diego will follow activities of Communist  
Party and other subversive groups in racial matters and  
submit quarterly report.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (100-153735)(REGISTERED)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Info)(REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (Info)(REGISTERED)
- 2 - San Diego

*AB*  
*1 - [unclear]*  
*1006*  
*San*  
*D*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
November 4, 1966

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 11 - Bureau (157-6-26) (RM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM) Group 1
- 1 - FIO, Los Angeles (RM) Excluded from automatic
- 1 - Secret Service, downgrading and  
Los Angeles (RM) declassification
- ③ - Los Angeles (157-943)  
(1) - 100-66078

100-66078-1007

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SERIALIZED *GD*  
FILED *GD*

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Pages</u>
I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION. . . . .	4
II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS . . . . .	5 - 10
III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL . . . . .	11 - 12
IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION . . . . .	13
V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED. . . . .	14
VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS . . . . .	15
VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION. . . . .	16
VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS . . .	17

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL  
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP  
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL  
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

Los Angeles, California

On October 5, 1966, source 1 advised that the Working Man's Store had filed a suit against the City of Los Angeles in the sum of \$69,000, which loss was allegedly suffered as a result of the Watts riot of August, 1965. The purpose of the suit was to determine whether or not those who suffered loss during the riot could recover from the city or state due to their negligence. If such suits were successful, source pointed out it would relieve insurance companies of a burden of damages amounting to approximately 40 million dollars.

Source advised that during the riot of 1965 the Insurance Commissioner for the State of California had informed the insurance companies that the Watts riot was neither a rebellion nor an insurrection and that the exclusionary clauses in their insurance policies did not apply.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 18, 1966, II-2, was an article reporting that 20 of the 150 Teen Posts in Los Angeles County would be closed by November 1, 1966. Joseph Maldonado, Executive Director of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA) stated the posts being dropped were those lacking adequate local sponsorship or community response. The cutback occurred so the EYOA could operate within the limit of 1.5 million dollars set for the operation of Teen Posts for eight months, beginning January 1, 1967.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," a Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of October 20, 1966, Page A-1, was an article reporting that a crowd of angry welfare recipients had stormed into the offices of the Los Angeles County Supervisors to protest a cutback in the job training program. The crowd was led by a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

group calling itself the "Welfare Right Organization." The County Supervisors explained to the group that the job training program had been originally funded by the Federal Government, however, portions of the program had been cancelled due to a cutback in funds. The Supervisors explained the county could not afford to spend three million dollars on job training, and unless more funds were forthcoming from the state or Federal Government, the program would have to be cut back.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 20, 1966, Page 6-A, was an article by Wesley R. Brazier, head of the Urban League in Los Angeles, commending the creation of "Project Equality," a program in which the Protestant and Jewish religious communities of Los Angeles had pledged to take positive action to end job discrimination. The group also indicated their refusal to purchase goods and supplies from businesses which discriminated. Mr. Brazier concluded that the significant point was that churches were implementing their moral convictions with positive efforts.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 27, 1966, Page A-1, was an article reporting that the Sons of Watts (SOW), a Negro self-help organization in the Watts area of Los Angeles, had on October 25, 1966, picketed the People's Voice Book Store at 9122 South Compton Avenue, Los Angeles. The SOW was protesting literature in the store allegedly urging Negroes to arm themselves for acts of violence, into "People's Armed Defense Groups." The article reported the defense groups were part of the organization of the Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist (CP, USA M-L) (see appendix). The SOW was being backed by the Concerned Citizens Club, which indicated their next step was to get signatures on petitions demanding city action against the book store. The article pointed out that City Attorney Roger Arnebergh had rendered an opinion that the literature issued by the store was not a violation of the new anti-riot law. A similar article in the "Los Angeles Times" of October 26, 1966, reported that at least 50 SOW pickets had participated in the above demonstration.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

On October 24, 1966, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) advised that at approximately 3:30 P.M. on that date between 200 and 300 Negro youths gathered to watch a fight between two Negro juveniles at Imperial and Avalon Boulevards in Southeast Los Angeles. A police unit attempting to stop the fight was assaulted and extra police units were called to the scene. The crowd was ordered to disperse, but while dispersing two female Negro juveniles began fighting. A police officer was assaulted while attempting to stop this fight. The crowd threw bricks, bottles, and debris at police units, three of which units were slightly damaged. There was no estimate of damage to police equipment and one police officer suffered a bruised leg. Three female Negro juveniles were arrested, one for disturbing the peace, one for battery against another juvenile, and one for riot. The LAPD advised that during this incident a group of approximately 12 members of the SOW had volunteered their services to the LAPD to end the disturbance; however, the offer was declined as the situation was well under control.

On October 25, 1966, source 2, a highly placed official of the LAPD, advised that at about 8:30 P.M. on October 24, 1966, in response to an anonymous telephone call, LAPD officers observed two male Caucasians and two male Negroes in an alley at 95th Street and Central Avenue, Los Angeles. The men had a rented 1963 Ford sedan bearing the word "Police" painted on the front doors. The automobile was owned by an automobile rental agency in Los Angeles. In the car was motion picture equipment and clothing, including hats, which closely resembled clothing worn by officers of the LAPD. The men advised they were making a "research and training" film for the Teen Posts in the area. Source 2 advised the LAPD had received information from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office (LASO) that the LASO had received an anonymous call that films were being made in the above alley with "phony" police officers beating male Negroes and Caucasians, with catsup being used to represent blood. The four men involved were:

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted] white male  
[redacted] white male  
[redacted] Negro male  
[redacted] Negro male

When interviewed by the police at the above location, [redacted] stated they were making the film in cooperation with "the Teen Post" and the film was being made partly for the purpose of training youth in the making of films. [redacted] and [redacted] stated they were connected with the Emmanuel Church of Christ Teen Post at 1785 East 85th Street, Los Angeles.

Source 1 advised on October 25, 1966, that the name of [redacted] was maintained on the mailing list of the Progressive Labor Party (see appendix) on September 23, 1966.

On August 19, 1966, source 2 advised that on June 20, 1966, [redacted] and [redacted] entered Bullock's Department Store in Los Angeles and purchased 50 rounds of .30 caliber ammunition. [redacted] removed a .30 caliber M-1 military model carbine with a folding stock from a brown paper bag and commenced loading the magazine. They were requested not to load the gun in the store and were apprehended outside the store by police, questioned, and released. Plain clothes officers then followed [redacted] and [redacted] and when they later fired six rounds of ammunition into the air, they were arrested.

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There is no information in the files of the Los Angeles Office identifiable with [redacted] or [redacted].

On October 25, 1966, source 2 advised [redacted] had a record with the LAPD since [redacted] December, 1959, consisting of arrests for minor offenses plus robbery and burglary; however, [redacted] has not been convicted of either robbery or burglary.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 26, 1966, was an article reporting that the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission announced a program of action aimed at halting the spread of ghettos. The commission gave its housing committee approval to work toward winning the cooperation of realtors and other agencies in setting up a "Neighborhood Stabilizing Housing Service."

On October 30, 1966, source 3 furnished a leaflet entitled, "The Fraud of the Elections," which was issued by the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist CP (POC)(see appendix). Source 3 advised the leaflet was distributed in the Jordan Downs housing project, 9800 Grape Street, in the Watts area of Los Angeles. A copy of this leaflet is attached.

Venice, California

Appearing in the "Santa Monica Evening Outlook" newspaper, Santa Monica, California, issue of October 20, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that a community relations police officer, Lieutenant Edward Henry, would be assigned to the Venice area by the LAPD beginning in early November, 1966. Captain Thomas McTighe, Commander of the Venice Division, LAPD, announced that the Patrol Bureau of the LAPD had turned down the request of a citizens committee for "face to face" meetings between residents and patrol officers, on the basis that it was not a proper function of police officers and the LAPD did not have the money or the orders "to go into social work."

In the "Santa Monica Evening Outlook" of October 21, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting a meeting sponsored by Project Action and the "Venice Community Improvement Union." (Project Action is a self-help Negro organization in the Venice area of Los Angeles.) Several speakers at this meeting complained about general housing and living conditions in the Venice area.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted] identified as a "UCLA student," spoke at the meeting urging a "rent strike" against slum landlords and the withholding of rents until repairs were made by the landlords.

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On June 30, 1966, source 4 advised that as of that date [redacted] was employed as an interviewer for the South Side Citizens Defense Committee (see appendix) in Los Angeles.

On August 3, 1965, source 5 advised that on July 9, 10, and 11, 1965, Victor Oliver attended a Policy Making and Evaluating Conference of the Youth Section, Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), 5625 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles. Dorothy Healey, Charmain of the SCDCP, was also present and participated in these meetings.

In the "Santa Monica Evening Outlook," of October 24, 1966, Page 13, was an article reporting a new "pre-vocational" training program being conducted at Project Action (above) in Venice. The program is financed with state funds provided for vocational rehabilitation. The program is to cost \$3,600 per month, including a living expense allowance, tuition, and medical expenses for those participating.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

Los Angeles, California

On November 3, 1966, source 2 advised the racial situation in the Los Angeles area appeared to be fairly calm and quiet, however, pointed out that the situation remained tense enough that any publicized incident could still result in violence at any time.

On October 6, 1966, [redacted] of the Temporary Alliance of Local Organizations (TALO), advised he did not foresee another riot. He stated there might be isolated instances of trouble, but nothing on a large scale. He stated that in his opinion the Watts Summer Festival did more to relieve tension and improve community relations than anything that had been done in the Negro community to date. b6 b7c

On October 24, 1966, [redacted], head of the Afro-American Citizens Council, stated he could see no improvement in the general racial situation in Los Angeles, but could make no prediction of future racial violence. Smith believed the only solution to the problems of the Negro was for the Negro to help himself and the only worthwhile organizations are the so-called "self-help" type of organization.

On November 2, 1966, source 6, a prominent Los Angeles Negro leader, advised the general racial situation in the Los Angeles area was quiet at the present time.

He stated that the newly formed Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission had done nothing to date, and hoped it would not turn out to be "just window dressing." Source stated he was working hard in an unofficial capacity to establish better relationships with "hard core black nationalists" who do not want to use the services of the state employment service, or the services of the Urban League, feeling they are being discriminated against

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

by both agencies. Source stated it took a great deal of diplomacy to get officials to sit down and discuss things with "black nationalists."

Pasadena, California

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 20, 1966, Page B-7, was a column written by Bill Lane entitled, "The Inside Story." Lane reported that people in Pasadena were "mad" over a public statement by acting Police Chief Carl Lindholm to the effect that it was "unusual in our society for a mixed couple to be riding in an automobile..." Lane reported the incident giving rise to this statement was a traffic citation given by a Pasadena Police Department (PPD) officer to a 17 year old Negro boy riding with a 15 year old Caucasian girl. The ticket given by the officer emphasized the racial origin of the parties. Pasadena judge Henry Shatford commented that, "Race is no business of the police... except for identification purposes in felony matters..."

On November 1, 1966, Sergeant [redacted], PPD, advised that at about 12:20 A.M. on November 1, a police patrol car noticed approximately 100 Negroes milling about a restaurant at 1194 North Fair Oaks, Pasadena. They observed several Negroes fighting. When officers attempted to stop the fighting, several bottles were thrown at the police car and the officers called for assistance. Approximately 25 police officers arrived at the scene to handle the matter. Some of the officers were attacked with bottles, others by being kicked. Five police officers received minor injuries and there was slight damage to police cars. No other property damage was reported. Officers arrested nine male and five female Negroes, ranging from 17 to 24 years of age. All 14 of those arrested were charged with rioting and failure to disperse.

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The PPD indicated they expected possible continued violence in the general area, as Negro groups have been complaining or harassment by the police.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS  
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

The following organizations, referred to above, have been active in the local racial situations: —

The "Welfare Right Organization," which picketed the Los Angeles County Supervisors.

"Project Equality," established by local Protestant and Jewish organizations to help end job discrimination.

"Project Action," a Negro self-help organization in the Venice area of Los Angeles.

Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist CP (see leaflet).

CP, USA, M-L.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS  
INVOLVED

[REDACTED] referred to under Section II above,  
has recommended a "rent strike" against slum landlords in the  
Venice area of Los Angeles.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION  
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL  
OFFICIALS

As set out under Section II above, the Patrol Bureau of the LAPD refused to allow regular meetings between citizens and patrol officers in the Venice area of Los Angeles, due to the lack of funds and time for such activity.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY  
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 27, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that Mayor Samuel Yorty had denounced the new California anti-riot law as a "fraudulent and impotent measure." Yorty's criticism was based on 'an opinion by City Attorney Roger Arnebergh to the effect that the old laws on the books were more effective than the new law, and upon his opinion that the new "inflammatory handbills could not be stopped under the new anti-riot law.

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The time has come again for the American circus called elections.

Two years have passed since we last chose which of the politicians was going to oppress and exploit us. Now, after two years of robbery and murder, they pretend to allow us to judge and express our dissatisfaction by trading Tweedly Dee for Tweedly Dum.

This year, the so called candidates have been especially cynical. They don't even try to present a difference on the important issues. Of the most important events in this period has been the revolts of the Negro masses in Los Angeles and the Bay Area. These phoney candidates have agreed not to mention the Negro movement. Why? Because their positions are identical - Use the Troops, - Use the Shotgun, - Use the club. They won't discuss the Negro movement because as loyal representatives of the ruling class both Brown and Regan are committed to the job of crushing, buying out and subverting the Negro peoples movement. Concerning the dirty imperialist war against the people of Viet Nam, both Brown and Regan are committed to carrying out the aggression against and the slaughter of the brave Viet Nameese people. In fact, there is not and there cannot be any difference in these candidates. They try to fool the people with the farce of 'extremists and moderates'. The last time this gimmick was used, it ended with L.B. Johnson doing all the things that Goldwater talked about. The fact is, that the most honest capitalist election is at best an opportunity for the people to choose who will oppress and exploit them. Today, we don't even have that choice. The 'candidates' are hand picked behind closed doors and then presented to the people as a choice.

It is not conceivable that a criminal ruling class that is the direct decedents of the slave masters would place in the hands of the people any meaningful weapon to use against them. The spokesmen for the ruling class tell us that the vote is a weapon in the hands of the people. They lie. Voting in present day America is a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class. Through an analysis of the vote, the officials are able to gauge the consciousness of the workers and plan accordingly. By giving the people the ballot, the ruling class hopes to make all social and class struggles revolve around the ballot box where they are sure to win. Just as life showed the people the real role of the cops, life is slowly showing the people the real role of the elections.

The revisionist, so called 'Communist Party' of the USA has gone all out in the effort to aid the ruling class in the vote fraud. Just as they urged the people to vote for Johnson as the 'lesser evil', so now they support Brown. Facts are stubborn things - just as Johnson is the butcher of South East Asia, so Brown is the hangman of Watts. There is no lesser evil today. There is only the people against the giant monopoly capitalists and their filthy political representatives. The Communist Party, USA, has long ago proven itself to be traitor to the American and international revolutionary movement. Now, in addition to their crime of supporting L.B. Johnson for president, they are supporting Brown as 'more sensible and moderate' The CPUSA is merely the loyal opposition of the imperialists inside the working class movement. The job of these phoney communists in this election is to drum up such fear of the fascist Regan, that the people will forget about the equally fascist Brown. The CPUSA tries hard to make it seem that the working class can make progress and social change at the polls. What the people need today is their liberation, and no people have ever voted their way to freedom. The ballot box is the bimick to keep the workers involved in capitalist politics, it is the method of preventing the development of an independent party of the working class. The revisionist 'communists' by supporting and running candidates in these elections are continuing to carry out their sabotage from inside the working class movement.

We are offered the ballot as an alternative for real struggle. The people understand that what is good for the ruling class is bad for the people. PCC believes that this understanding must be applied to the elections. As we have in the past ten years, we condemn the elections as a fraud, and call upon the people 'Don't waste your ballot - Don't cast it!'

We must be prepared for an intensification of fascist reaction when the elections are over. No matter which of the fascist twins win - it is clear that the murders and beatings will continue. The only vote that this ruling class understands is the detailed political organization of the workers in pursuit of a policy of open organized confrontation.

DON'T VOTE - ORGANIZE

(ISSUED BY THE PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. For further information write Vanguard, Box 72306, Watts Station, Los Angeles Calif.)

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READ VANGUARD.

READ VANGUARD

READ VANGUARD



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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of [redacted]. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under [redacted]'s leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

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1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 12, 1966, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, LOS ANGELES CLUB

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the Los Angeles Club of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is affiliated with the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) with headquarters in San Francisco, California. The aims and purposes of the Los Angeles Club and the BAPLP are identical to those of the National PLP, with headquarters in New York City. The PLP is pro-Chinese Communist oriented.

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APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR  
A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 142-143.

1. Found to be "a new Communist splinter group." The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party "also known as the POC \* \* \* was formed in August, 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who were dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the party and, while within it, had referred to themselves as the Marxist-Leninist Caucus."

"The leaders and participants in the Provisional Organizing Committee group had been expelled from the Communist Party on the technical charge of 'disruptive, factional, anti-party activities.'

"The POC group is composed largely of extreme left-wing elements from the Communist Party. Throughout the party's history, there have been contending right and left-wing factions which, in periods of turmoil such as the party has gone through in the recent past, have fought for control. The POC elements lost out in this recent struggle within the U.S. party \*\*\*."

"The one fact that is completely clear today is that the POC group is made up of hard-core, dedicated, and extremist Communists, who despite their present differences with the Communist Party leadership, are intent upon doing all within their power to speed the achievement of the goals of international communism."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1959, House Report 1251, February 8, 1960, pp. 69 and 70.)

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APPENDIX

SOUTH SIDE CITIZENS  
DEFENSE COMMITTEE (SSCDC)

On September 2, 1965, a source advised that [redacted] stated at a meeting of the Southern Californis District Communist Party (SCDCP) in August, 1965, that the Communist Party (CP) had set up the SSCDC to aid the Negro people and to pay for legal defense for those who needed it.

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A second source advised in November, 1965, that [redacted] was a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, and on November 10, 1965, was elected [redacted] of the Negro Commission, SCDCP.

On October 6, 1965, a third source advised that at a meeting of the SCDCP in October, 1965, it was reported that the SSCDC was to be operated by the Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP.

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the SSCDC is currently in existence.

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11/4/66

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL-REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)  
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)(P)  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM)  
to the Bureau 10/20/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM  
dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for  
Bufile 100-442529)(CIRM).

Local military agencies, the U. S. Secret Service,  
Los Angeles, and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have  
been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division  
have been instructed to report any racial situation immedi-  
ately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants  
and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the  
same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11)(RM)  
(1 - 100-442529)(CIRM)
- 3 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-66078)

LDJ/jac  
(6)

AIRTEL

100-66078-1008

SEARCHED —  
INDEXED —  
SERIALIZED 12  
FILED 12

LA 157-243

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity</u>
1	[redacted], Legal Counsel, DeCone Commission
2	[redacted]
3	[redacted]
4	[redacted]
5	[redacted]
6	[redacted] Los Angeles Chapter, NAACP

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The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by sources 2 through 5 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of a continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 10/16/66 through 10/30/66, 14 potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California  
November 15, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE (SNCC)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The following sources have furnished reliable information in the past:

Source 1, on November 2, 1966, furnished information that was reported by a confidential source of a Government agency on October 31, 1966, regarding activities presently being planned by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

According to this source, these two organizations are in the tentative planning stages for demonstration activities which are to commence after January 1, 1967 and are to be directed against U. S. military (Army and Navy) construction projects in the Los Angeles area. The demonstrations carry the main theme of protest against the unfair employment practices by Department of Defense contractor firms. Mention has also been made of possible picketing and demonstration activity at recruiting stations by SNCC.

A second source advised on November 10, 1966, that CORE has made no plans for any type demonstrations and has abandoned its activity against the North American Aviation Corporation in Los Angeles for its alleged discrimination in employment practices.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-66078-1009

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INDEXED —

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FILED *CU*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The above source on November 14, 1966, learned from [redacted] of Los Angeles CORE's Employment Committee, that CORE is planning demonstrations against the Southern California Gas Company and North American Aviation Corporation for alleged discrimination in employment practices. All future demonstrations planned by CORE are against discrimination in employment practices by the above-mentioned firms and have no anti-Government or anti-war overtones.

On October 25, 1966, it was ascertained by an appropriate pretext telephone call by a Special Agent of the FBI that SNCC owes several weeks back rent on its Los Angeles headquarters office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles and SNCC's [redacted] has not been seen around the building for several weeks. It was ascertained that SNCC offices at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles were being closed due to a lack of funds.

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A fourth source on October 26, 1966, advised that mail for [redacted] and SNCC are still being delivered to 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, but that [redacted] is presently in the Los Angeles County Jail for failure to make alimony payments to his wife.

A fifth source advised on November 14, 1966, that [redacted] of SNCC, is serving 45 days in the Los Angeles County Jail, and the SNCC office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, has been closed due to a lack of funds. It is anticipated that there will be a limited amount of activity on the part of SNCC in the Los Angeles area because of loss of leadership and its financial problems.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished the United States Attorney and Secret Service, Los Angeles, as well as appropriate local military agencies. Local law enforcement agencies have been advised.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439190)  
(100-442649)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-63822)  
(105-255)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE (SNCC)  
IS - C  
(LA 100-63822)  
(Bufile 100-439190)

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)  
IS - C  
(LA 105-255)  
(Bufile 100-442649)

DATE: 11/15/66

Enclosed are 13 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM), one copy for Bufile 100-442527.

Copies are being furnished Region II, 115th MI U. S. Army, Pasadena; OSI, Norton Air Force Base; FIO, U. S. Navy, San Diego; United States Attorney, and Secret Service, Los Angeles.

Two copies of the LHM are being furnished to the Atlanta Office.

This LHM is classified confidential to protect the identity of confidential informants and sources of continuing value.

- 7 - Bureau (Encl. 13) (REGISTERED)
  - (3 - 100-439190) (SNCC)
  - (3 - 100-442649) (CORE)
  - (1 - 100-442527) (CIRM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
- ③ - Los Angeles
  - (1 - 100-63822) (SNCC)
  - (1 - 105-255) (CORE)
  - ① - 100-66078) (CIRM)

JWW:gcw  
(12)

*gcw*

100-66078-1010

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INDEXED —  
SERIALIZED *uw*  
FILED *uw*



LA 100-63822

LA 105-255

The sources described in the attached LHM are:

Source 1:

[REDACTED]

Pasadena, California  
100-63822

Source 2:

[REDACTED]

Orally to SA [REDACTED]  
11/10 and 11/14/66

Source 3:

A pretext telephone call by SA R. ANDREW PETERS  
to [REDACTED]  
of building at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, headquarters  
for Los Angeles SNCC  
100-63822-940

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Source 4:

[REDACTED]

Postmaster's Office  
Main Post Office  
Los Angeles, California  
100-63822-940

Source 5:

[REDACTED] orally to SA [REDACTED]  
on 11/14/66.

Close contact is being maintained with above sources,  
and the Bureau and Atlanta will be advised of pertinent  
developments.

8

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES ( [redacted] )  
FROM: SA [redacted]  
SUBJECT: FORMER [redacted];  
FORMER [redacted]

DATE: 10/5/66

C

Captioned informants were canceled in July, 1966, when they moved to Iowa.

They were contacted by Bureau Agents and served as informants of the Los Angeles Office from April, 1959 through July, 1966, having attended their first Communist Party meeting in March, 1962. They were members of the Lakewood and later the Long Beach Communist Party Clubs.

Informants requested their identities be kept in confidence and indicated they preferred not to testify unless it were extremely important to the Government.

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A copy of this memo is prepared for files where sources previously furnished information.

- CC: 1 - CLEVELAND (REGISTERED)  
100- (GUS HALL)
- 1 - LAS VEGAS (REGISTERED)  
100- [redacted]
- 3 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)  
100-42162 (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)  
100-84994 (GUS HALL)  
100-128255 [redacted]
- 4 - SAN DIEGO (REGISTERED)  
100- (JAMES FORREST)  
100- [redacted] (LNU)  
100- [redacted]  
100- [redacted]

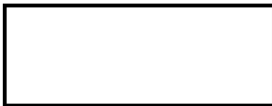
100-66078-7011

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SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT. 5, 1966	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

RP

COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 2.

JRC:LAL  
(301) *sol* Read by \_\_\_\_\_



COPIES CONTINUED:

8 - SAN FRANCISCO (REGISTERED)  
 39-30 (HARRY BRIDGES)  
 100- (LOUIS GOLDBLATT)  
 100- (SF-ILWU)  
 100- (ARCHIE BROWN)  
 61-415 (AL RICHMOND)  
 100- [REDACTED]  
 100- (PEGGY DENNIS)  
 100- [REDACTED]

Los Angeles:

100-24842	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-62539	(UNSUB. ALMA)
100-31704	[REDACTED] (RI-B)	100-34349	(HERBERT APTHEKER)
100-62638	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-65514	(DAVID ARIAN)
100-65033	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-48506	(LOUIS ARIAN) (RI-A)
100-35560	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-54957	[REDACTED] (RI-B)
100-54958	[REDACTED] (RI-B)	100-32495	(ATTACKS AGAINST THE FBI)
100-20874	(CHARLOTTE BASS) (SI)		
100-60535	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-32783	[REDACTED]
100-58578	[REDACTED]	100-46546	[REDACTED] (RI-B)
100-18176	[REDACTED] (RI-B)	100-34355	[REDACTED] (RI-B)
100-47092	[REDACTED]	100-29670	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-59001	(JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY)	100-39990	[REDACTED] (RI-B)
100-1559	[REDACTED]	39-23	(HARRY BRIDGES)
100-7500	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-27935	[REDACTED] (RI-B)
100-59996	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-25675	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-25680	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-18596	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-60338	[REDACTED]	100-58733	[REDACTED]
100-24343	[REDACTED]	100-67523	(CENTINELA DU BOIS CLUB)
100-43879	[REDACTED] (RI-B)	100-21631	(LEE COE)
100-62389	(MRS. [REDACTED])	100-23496	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-40452	[REDACTED] (RI-B)	100-6187	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-24794	[REDACTED]		
100-45280	[REDACTED] (SI)		
100-57268	(COMINFIL, AMITY BENEVOLENT FRATERNAL ASSOCIATION)	100-33973	(COMINFIL FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF L.A.)

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COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 3.



COPIES CONTINUED:

100-25365 (COMINFIL-LABOR MATTERS)  
 100-55462 (COMPTON SECTION, SCD CP)  
 100-6977 (PHILIP CONNELLY) (SI)  
 100-63544 (CUBAN MATTERS)  
 100-41016 (CCPAF)  
 100-66078 (CIRM)  
 105-255 (CORE)  
 100-51790 (SI)  
 100-54556 (SI)  
 100-7518 (SI)  
 100-56525 (SI)  
 100-56528  
 100-23931 (SI)  
 100-26045 (DOMESTIC ADM. ISSUES)  
 100-65227 (W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)  
 100-62338 (RI-B)  
 100-23901 (EDUCATION)  
 100-56962 (SI)  
 100-30809 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)  
 100-25491 (SI)  
 100-33530  
 100-23488 (FUNDS)  
 100-23623 (FEPC)  
 100-44901  
 100-61340  
 100-39376  
 100-61850  
 100-31208 (RI-B)  
 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI)  
 100-57082 (RI-B)  
 100-20309 (SI)  
 100-16114 (RI-B)  
 100-25633 (SI)  
 100-25633 (SI)  
 100-44910 (SI)  
 100-31744 (CLAUDE JOHNSON) (SI)

100-55887 (COMINFIL MASS ORGS.)  
 100-23704 (RI-B)  
 100-43370 (RI-B)  
 100-59007 (CDC)  
 100-61416 (CLIC)  
 100-23397 (CPUSA BRIEF)  
 100-15355 (SI)  
 100-23399 (SI)  
 100-45822 (PEGGY DENNIS)  
 100-56527  
 100-5264 (SI)  
 100-4663 (BEN DOBBS) (SI)  
 100-24037 (SI)  
 100-7181 (SI)  
 100-47203 (SI)  
 100-62352 (EASTERN AREA COORDINATING COUNCIL)  
 100-56963 (SI)  
 100-62251 (FREE PRESS FORUM)  
 100-34273  
 100-24642 (REV. (SI)  
 100-64603 (SI)  
 100-36820 (GIL GREEN)  
 100-29162 (GUS HALL)  
 100-63321  
 100-55457 (HARBOR SECTION)  
 100-47746 (SI)  
 100-40024 (SI)  
 100-35024 (SI)  
 62-1664 (HCUA)  
 100-24349 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
 100-7658 (ILWU)  
 100-31837 (SI)  
 100-60413

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COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 4.



COPIES CONTINUED:

100-54904	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-45933	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-54953	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-46453	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-20066	( [REDACTED] )	100-25451	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-23204	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-50269	( [REDACTED] )
100-56571	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-21337	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-28805	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-6456	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-51879	( [REDACTED] )	100-40441	( FLORENCE KUSHNER ) (SI)
100-39704	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-24068	( JOHN KYKYRI ) (SI)
100-55955	( KPFK-FM )	100-25307	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-21198	( JOHN HOWARD LAWSON ) (SI)	100-29552	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-53111	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-53329	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-29886	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-34797	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
62-3568	( LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS )	100-56575	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-56576	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-24342	( LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES )
100-36445	( [REDACTED] )	100-26373	( [REDACTED] )
100-34031	( [REDACTED] )	100-60419	( LONG BEACH CURRENT EVENTS FORUM )
100-62308	( LONG BEACH PEACE INFORMATION CENTER )	100-15362	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-62315	( LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB )	100-56582	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-56581	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-1783	( LACDBR )
100-20992	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-34936	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-19548	( BEN MARGOLIS ) (SI)	100-44279	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-47834	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-32407	( [REDACTED] )
100-26200	( MAY DAY COMMITTEE )		( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-21993	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-23933	( MEMBERSHIP )
105-12349	( MEDICAL AID TO CUBA )	100-22612	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-24616	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-29972	( [REDACTED] )
100-50236	( [REDACTED] )	100-55455	( MORANDA SMITH SECTION )
100-50116	( [REDACTED] )	100-20465	( [REDACTED] )
100-20743	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-56593	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-56592	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-56834	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-5909	( WYNDHAM MORTIMER )	105-11536	( [REDACTED] )
100-56597	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)		( [REDACTED] )
100-26046	( NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSIONS )	100-28866	( [REDACTED] )
100-31584	( "NATIONAL GUARDIAN" )	100-24345	( NEGRO QUESTION )
100-30698	( [REDACTED] )		

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COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 5.



COPIES CONTINUED:

100-20319	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-44993	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-55889	(NAAP)	100-55822	(ORANGE COUNTY CP CLUB)
100-26044	(ORGANIZATION)	100-23769	( [REDACTED] )
100-24814	( [REDACTED] )	100-28345	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-23755	(PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)		
100-62308	(PEACE INFORMATION CENTER)		
97-16	("PEOPLE'S WORLD")	100-4963	(PETTIS PERRY)
100-26091	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-60763	( [REDACTED] )
100-57098	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-19895	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-21135	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-23423	(POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
100-48290	("POLITICAL AFFAIRS")	157-943	(POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE- MAJOR URBAN AREAS)
100-66953	(POVERTY PROGRAM)		
97-12	(PROGRESSIVE BOOK SHOP)	100-43948	(PWEGC)
157-1000	(RACIAL RIOTS)	100-61366	( [REDACTED] ) (RICHARDS)
100-30582	(AL RICHMOND)	100-28500	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-8086	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-22501	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-32591	(ROSE ROSENBERG) (SI)	100-36445	( [REDACTED] )
		100-55466	( [REDACTED] )
100-6729	( [REDACTED] )	100-16388	( [REDACTED] )
100-5327	( [REDACTED] )	100-5094	( [REDACTED] )
100-67068	( [REDACTED] )	100-41037	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-24756	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-43854	(DR. [REDACTED])
100-7464	( [REDACTED] )	100-32407	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-24351	(SECURITY MEASURES)	100-25670	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)
100-34628	( [REDACTED] )	100-16889	( [REDACTED] )
100-15975	( [REDACTED] )	100-48446	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-46753	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-46739	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-49219	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-55457	(SOUTHERN AREA COORDINATING COUNCIL)
100-59133	(SOUTHSIDE SECTION)		
100-57117	( [REDACTED] )	100-57115	( [REDACTED] )
100-31990	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)	100-23208	( [REDACTED] ) (RI-B)
100-25365	(STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)	100-39998	( [REDACTED] )
100-38319	( [REDACTED] )	100-1763	(SCDCP)
100-63822	(SNCC)	100-18655	( [REDACTED] )
100-60881	( [REDACTED] )	100-14220	( [REDACTED] )
100-30537	( [REDACTED] ) (SI)	100-30439	(WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)

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COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 6.



COPIES CONTINUED:

100-60780 [REDACTED]  
 100-34005 [REDACTED]  
 100-36821 [REDACTED]  
 100-22218 [REDACTED] (SI)  
 100-25777 [REDACTED]  
 100-47932 [REDACTED] (SI)  
 100-33496 (ROBERT TRAVIS) (SI)  
 100-20310 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-37686 [REDACTED] (SI)  
 100-20737 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-32783 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-31557 [REDACTED]  
 100-55024 (WEST SIDE DEMOCRATIC CLUB)  
 100-56651 [REDACTED] (SI)  
 100-59708 [REDACTED]  
 100-55468 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-55469 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-28977 (WILPF)  
 100-61745 (WISP)  
 100-26063 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-24346 (YOUTH MATTERS)  
 100-24645 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-26497 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
 100-60406 [REDACTED]  
 100-66846 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-20499 [REDACTED] (SI)  
 100-55458 (TRADE UNION-MISC.  
 INDUSTRIAL SECTION)  
 100-20299 [REDACTED] (SI)  
 100-37687 [REDACTED] (SI)  
 100-7304 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-57787 [REDACTED] (RI-B)  
 100-62245 (MRS. [REDACTED])  
 100-65321 (WEST LOS ANGELES  
 DU BOIS CLUB)

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P

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-55455) DATE: 10/19/66  
FROM: SA WILLIAM R. WHITE  
SUBJECT: MORANDA SMITH SECTION (MSS)  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,  
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)  
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	Meeting of S. Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, 9/29/66.	9/30/66	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant furnished a typewritten report containing the following information:

CC: [REDACTED]

- 100-30925 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-24810 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-20319 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-30537 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-56623 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 97-16 ("PEOPLE'S WORLD")
- 100-62240 [REDACTED]
- 100-24642 (REV. STEVEN FRITCHMAN) (SI)
- 100-19548 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-23700 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-23423 (POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
- 100-48290 (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)
- 100-33954 (JIM JACKSON)
- 100-23882 (ART SHIELDS)
- 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI)
- 100-26046 (NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSIONS)
- 100-66078 (CIRM)
- 100-67303 (S.S.C.D.C.)
- 100-3267 (ACLU)
- 100-23488 (FUNDS)
- 100-29774 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-56617 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-30439 (BILL TAYLOR) (SI)
- 100-29380 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-56514 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-30582 (AL RICHMOND)
- 100-31730 (HUNGARIAN HALL)
- 100-68474 [REDACTED]

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b7D

100-60078-1012

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCTOBER 19 1966	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

AB

WRW:LAL  
(30) Read by WAW

LA 100-55455

On 9/29/66 a regular meeting of the South Central CP Club was held at the home of [redacted], Los Angeles.

[redacted] was in charge of the meeting and the following CP members were present:

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

BILL TAYLOR  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] said that [redacted] and BILL TAYLOR had to leave early and so the next meeting was set up for the home of [redacted].

[redacted] said the PW lost money on the last two events, the one for AL RICHMOND at Baces Hall, and the one for [redacted] at the Larchmont Hall. He said in the future all PW events will be held at the Hungarian Hall since the rent is only \$25.00 for an evening. The PW bazaar will be December 9, 10, 11, 1966, at the Armenian Hall on Venice Boulevard. The Rev. STEPHEN FRITCHMAN will be the M.C. of the PW Banquet. [redacted], AL RICHMOND will speak, but Mrs. [redacted] will not speak. [redacted] will make the pitch.

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BILL TAYLOR urged everyone to ignore a peace letter they received from Santa Monica, and he said everyone should vote.

[redacted] urged everyone to attend the political conference at East Los Angeles State College.

[redacted] urged that everyone attend a meeting on Vietnam at Inglewood.

[redacted] urged everyone to read the article on Black Power in the Political Affairs by JIM JACKSON and one by ART SHIELDS.

[redacted] said that she was going to write an article on the Jewish question because she did not feel DOROTHY HEALEY had covered it in her report.

LA 100-55455

BILL TAYLOR urged support for the San Francisco riots, that is the CP in San Francisco. TAYLOR said he would send a letter to the Party in San Francisco and offer support. TAYLOR also said the South Side Defense Committee is helping the ACLU with a case and [REDACTED] said the South Side Defense Committee needs funds very badly.

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ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:      ARMENIAN HALL  
              BLACK POWER



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

November 18, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

- 11 - Bureau (157-6-26) (RM)  
(1 - 100-442529)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - Naval Investigative Service, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (157-943)  
(1 - 100-66078)

LDJ/mlh  
(18)

100-66078-1013

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED aw  
FILED aw

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Pages</u>
I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION.....	4
II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS.....	5 - 9
III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL.....	9 - 12
IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION.....	13
V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED.....	14 - 15
VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS.....	16
VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION.....	17
VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS.....	18

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL  
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP  
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL  
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL VIOLENCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

### Los Angeles, California

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", a Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of November 3, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that television newscaster Bill Stout declined to identify Edward Lee King, age eighteen, who is accused of arson as a result of a filmed interview of an individual who stated he had set fires during the Watts riot of August, 1965. [ ] was indicted on four counts of arson based on a "voice print" identification of his speaking voice, since the person interviewed on television had his features concealed. [ ] is expected to go on trial next week in Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 3, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA) disclosed that more than sixty per cent of the 5,226 children who participated in the Headstart program in Los Angeles County were in need of medical, dental or psychological care.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 4, 1966, II-4, was an editorial by Nick B. Williams referring to the lack of job skills in the Watts area, and the lack of adequate public transportation in the area. The editorial reported favorably on a plan created by the Aerojet General Corporation, which expects to establish a \$500,000 plant in the area to give employment to 200 people who will be trained for jobs at the job site. The editorial concluded, Aerojet was offering "change and progress" to the area.

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### Anti-Poverty Program

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 8, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that Reverend James H. Mims, Pastor of the Household of God Bible Way Church in the Watts area had ordered Operation Headstart classes to leave his church because the Anti-Poverty Program does not offer jobs to people in the area. Reverend Mims objected to the fact

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

that the community involved had to make a ten per cent contribution to the cost of such a project, which he considered beyond the capacity of a poverty area. He stated that teachers were hired from outside the area and supplies and food for the classes were purchased outside the area.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 8, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that the EYOA locally feared cutbacks of as much as forty per cent in Federal funds for programs in the Los Angeles area. Joe Maldonado, Executive Director of the EYOA, indicated he was unhappy that the EYOA would lose funds to new agencies and stated the loss of funds would not do anyone any good. He also noted that the latest congressional action raised the requirement for local contributions to the program from ten to twenty per cent.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 8, 1966, II-1, was an article reporting that some Mexican-American groups have protested that the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project (NAPP), a Federally funded program using poverty area residents to fight poverty, has concentrated heavily on problems of the Negro poor. They also protested the firing of Gabriel Yanez, a Mexican-American, by NAPP Director Mrs. Opal Jones, a Negro. Mexican-American groups have been demanding a separate NAPP program for Mexican-Americans and Mrs. Jones indicated they were considering such a separation while at the same time stating they should "all work together". Some NAPP officials feared separation would involve more money for salaries and less for fighting poverty. Mrs. Jones stated the NAPP would be divided into four, rather than two, autonomous districts.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 10, 1966, II-1, was an article reporting that Joe Maldonado (above) had walked out of a San Francisco meeting of community action directors when he was told that estimates of funds available for next year should not be made public. He stated he felt the public had a right to know what funds were available as he wanted people to know that it was the Federal Government and not his agency which was cutting back the programs.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 10, 1966, II-3, was an article reporting the EYOA had set up a committee to negotiate with the city and county of Los Angeles for possible funds to supplement salaries of capable administrators because of a recent congressional limitation of \$15,000 as the top salary for an anti-poverty officer. County supervisors decided they would not commit any county money to supplement such salaries. Supervisor [redacted] stated anti-poverty salaries should be a Federal rather than a local responsibility. The article reported thirteen EYOA employees faced pay cuts under the new congressional ruling.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 10, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that Ron Karenga, National Chairman of "US", a Negro self-help organization, had criticized Reverend H. H. Brookins for his attack on Stokely Carmichael, as "irresponsible...(and) unwarranted". Karenga stated Brookins exposed himself as a "spokesman for political interests". Karenga stated "'black power' is a legitimate aspiration of black people" and stated the term meant "self-determination, self-respect and self-defense".

Venice, California

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Venice is a section of Los Angeles next to Santa Monica, California, policed by the Los Angeles Police Department.

In the "Evening Outlook", newspaper of Santa Monica, Nov. 2, 1966, Page 45, was an article reporting that a predominately Negro Parent-Teacher Association in Venice had praised the work of the Police Department. They praised the police enforcement of curfew laws and said the Police Department had been cooperative with the Venice Teen Post. [redacted] of the Los Angeles Police Commission, addressed the group on "strengthening the community through law".

On September 29, 1966, the Los Angeles Police Department advised that at 10:25 PM on September 28, 1966, a Yellow Cab carrying three male Caucasian passengers was

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

stopped by a crowd of male Negroes in the 700 block of Indiana Avenue, Venice, California. The passengers became frightened and fled. Rocks were thrown at the cab and the driver called the police. When 17 police units arrived, a crowd of over 200 young Negroes of both sexes threw rocks and bottles at police. Obscene language and verbal abuse was directed towards the officers. Thirteen Negroes were arrested for rioting, lewd language, and failure to produce identification. No police officers were injured but two police vehicles were damaged. The Los Angeles Police Department advised that residents of the area attempted to assist police in dispersing the crowd and forcing rioters away.

In the "Evening Outlook" newspaper of November 4, 1966, Page 9, was an article reporting that American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorneys announced they would test the constitutionality of the new California anti-riot law in a case where six men were charged with "intending to cause a riot" in Venice. The men were arrested on September 28, 1966, (above) on a charge of disturbing the peace. ACLU attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] announced they planned to enter the case as "friends of the court" solely on the constitutionality of the new law.

In the "Evening Star News" newspaper of Culver City, California, issue of November 8, 1966, Page 1, was a newspaper article reporting the above action by ACLU attorneys, who indicated they believed the anti-riot law was "unconstitutionally vague, overly broad and violates freedoms guaranteed in the United States Constitution".

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[redacted]  
Louis F. Budenz  
Former National Communist  
Party Functionary  
(April, 1950)

[redacted] was a member of the Communist Party in 1943 and was strongly communistic in outlook although representing himself as a liberal.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]  
On April 5, 1966, source 1 advised that [REDACTED] attorney, was an associate counsel of the ACLU in Southern California.

[REDACTED]  
On May 4, 1965, source 2 advised that as of April 20, 1965, [REDACTED] Los Angeles, was a member of the Hollywood-Beverly Hills chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (See Appendix).

In the "Evening Star News" of Culver City, California, issue of November 5, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting a committee of Negro mothers in Venice was making door-to-door campaign to create a "community attitude change" on the part of the Negro community toward police. Mrs. [REDACTED] a group leader in Project Action, a Negro self-help organization in Venice, announced the campaign; however, no name for the organization was indicated. Mrs. [REDACTED] stated she hoped to arrange a symposium between members of the community and the Los Angeles Police Department.

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III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE

Los Angeles, California

In the "Los Angeles Herald-Examiner" of November 3, 1966, Page A-16, was an article reporting that Inspector James G. Fisk, coordinator of police community relations in Los Angeles, had spoken at the National Center on police and community relations at Michigan State University on November 3, 1966. He stated Negroes in the Watts area had adopted a "wait and see attitude" toward efforts to improve racial conditions. He stated that during the spring of 1966, however, the Los Angeles Police Department had received substantial evidence that the Watts community did not want

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

another riot. He also stated the police had established some relations with hard-core militant agitators but there was still some suspicion and distrust on the part of the militants.

On November 6, 1966, Sergeant [redacted] [redacted] Los Angeles Police Department, advised that during the early morning hours on that date there was a juvenile disturbance at 103rd and Lou Dillon Streets in the Watts area of Los Angeles. He stated officers making a routine drunk arrest were assaulted by approximately fifteen Negro juveniles. One police officer was grazed by a trash can which was thrown at him by [redacted] age twenty-one. When the officer turned, he observed [redacted] reach into his coat as if he had a gun. The officer shot [redacted] in the left hand. No gun was found in [redacted]'s possession, according to officers. The group then attempted to free [redacted] and the man arrested for being drunk from the police car, and in the process tore the microphone from the police car. During the altercation, the man arrested for being drunk escaped. Officers also arrested [redacted] age nineteen, on a charge of interfering with an arrest (lynching). Officers were able to leave the scene and booked [redacted] on a charge of assault with a deadly weapon, and [redacted] on a charge of interfering with an arrest.

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Sergeant [redacted] advised that the only damage to police equipment was the microphone being torn from the police car and stated the officer who fired the shot was only grazed by the trash can, suffering no injuries requiring medical treatment.

On November 16, 1966, source 3, a high official of the Los Angeles Police Department, advised the racial situation in Los Angeles and in the Watts area appeared to be relatively calm with no specific incidents which might give rise to a riotous situation. Source 3 pointed out that a situation as simple as the arrest referred to on November 6, 1966, (above) could trigger racial violence at any time.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

On July 27, 1966, source 4 advised that as of that date [REDACTED], was a member of the Los Angeles Club, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) (See Appendix).

On October 7, 1966, source 5 advised that [REDACTED] had been recently indicted by a Los Angeles County Grand Jury on a charge of criminal syndicalism. Source advised Harris had telephonically contacted Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on October 6, 1966, concerning Carmichael's possible public appearance in Los Angeles to speak for the recently formed "Committee to Defend John Harris" (CDJH).

On October 12, 1966, source 6 advised there was a meeting of the CDJH at 1169 Mullen Avenue, Los Angeles, at which the future trial of [REDACTED] was discussed. The group agreed not to picket during the trial, but to try to pack the courtroom with PLP members or sympathizers. There were also comments at the meeting that if [REDACTED] was not freed some members would attempt to start a riot.

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Barstow, California

On November 1, 1966, [REDACTED] of the Barstow Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), advised there appeared to be no unusual tensions in the Negro area of Barstow and there were no indications of racial incidents which might trigger violence in the next six months.

Long Beach-Wilmington, California Area

On October 24, 1966, [REDACTED] former [REDACTED] of the Long Beach Chapter, NAACP, and [REDACTED] of the Long Beach Human Relations Council, advised the racial situation in Long Beach appeared to be relatively calm. He stated there was no current situation which appeared might give rise to racial violence.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On October 24, 1966, Mrs. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] of the Wilmington Chapter, NAACP, advised the racial  
situation in the Wilmington area appeared to be one of  
relative calm and she knew of nothing at the present time  
which constituted a potential for racial violence in the  
near future.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS  
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

The following organizations, referred to under Section II above, have been active in the local racial situation:

An un-named group of Venice Negro mothers are working in Venice to improve police-community relations.

of the PLP is still awaiting trial in Los Angeles on a charge of criminal syndicalism.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS  
INVOLVED

The following individuals, referred to above, have been involved in the local racial situation:

[REDACTED] of "US".

ACLU attorneys [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] are involved as "friends of the court" in a legal action in Venice.

Mrs. [REDACTED] is working with a group in Venice to improve police-community relations.

In the "Daily Trojan", campus newspaper at the University of Southern California, issue of November 10, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that Reverend Maury (Morris) Samuels, an Episcopal pastor working with the Westminster Community Action Project, spoke before a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) meeting about "black power". Samuels stated the American Negro "is just not a human being in our society today". Samuels said black power was the only way for the Negro to make himself part of a society which does not want him. He stated, "The black man must keep pushing, nastily, in any manner or means to keep the damned whites aware of his plight". Samuels stated, "The black man is going to move in his way and if we don't like it, we can move over".

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In respect to SDS, it is noted that the Preamble of the SDS Constitution states "Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left...; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

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During the 1965 National Convention of the SDS, the Preamble of the Constitution was amended to eliminate "counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right." The SDS is opposed to present American foreign policy in Vietnam.

- 15 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION  
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL  
OFFICIALS

No change.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY  
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

No change.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE FACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 8, 1966, II-1, was an article reporting that the Teamsters Union of Southern California announced they were launching a multi-million dollar project financed by the Federal Government's War on Poverty program. The plan calls for the training of fifteen hundred persons in the next fifteen months. About five hundred persons are to be taught truck driving, five hundred to be mechanics and five hundred to be passenger car drivers. The article reported the trucking industry, along with the union, has been a target of complaints that minorities, especially Negroes, have been excluded from many jobs in the industry. The program will be called the Transportation Opportunity Program (TOP). TOP was turned down by the California Department of Vocational Education, since the union was not a recognized educational institution, but it was this fact which helped TOP get the approval of the Federal Government, since the instructors would be more on a level with the students with whom they would be working. Trainees will be paid allowances during their training for jobs.

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APPENDIXNATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

A source advised on May 13, 1966, that the National Lawyers Guild has chapters in various cities and that the Los Angeles Chapter and the Hollywood-Beverly Hills Chapter are affiliated with it.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, Page 121, describes the National Lawyers Guild as follows:

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, P. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950).
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself.'

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

"Among these organizations are the  
\*\*\* National Lawyers Guild. When  
the Communist Party itself is under  
fire these offer a bulwark of pro-  
tection.'  
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the  
Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook  
for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23,  
1956, P. 91)."

APPENDIX

11/18/66

PLAIN

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943) (P)  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to the Director dated 11/4/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for Bufile 100-442529 (CIRM).

Local military agencies, the U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the U.S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

Source

Identity

1



b7D

3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)  
(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)

3 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-66078)

LDJ/nlh  
(6)

157-943-1014  
SEARCHED —  
INDEXED —  
SERIALIZED —  
FILED —



LA 157-943

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity</u>
2	[REDACTED] Chief Investigator State Bar of California San Francisco, California
3	[REDACTED]
4	[REDACTED]
5	PSI [REDACTED]
6	PST [REDACTED]

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b7C  
b7D

The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by source 1 and sources 3 through 6 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of a continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two-week period from 10/30 through 11/13/66 14 potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised, according to Bureau instructions, regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (97-16)

DATE: 11/9/66

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: "PEOPLE'S WORLD" (PW)  
REGISTRATION ACT

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Annual PW Banquet on 10/16/66.	10/26/66	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

CC: 1 - SAN FRANCISCO (REG.) (Retained copy maintained  
61-415 (AL RICHMOND) in file \_\_\_\_\_)

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1 - NEW YORK (REG.) (Retained copy maintained  
100- [redacted] in file \_\_\_\_\_)

[redacted]

- 100-19548 (BEN MARGOLIS) (SI)
- 100-39704 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-23700 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-17369 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-64892 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-56617 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-22689 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-30439 (WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)
- 100-30537 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI)
- 100-4663 (BEN DOBBS) (SI)
- 100-26103 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-26088 (BILL JAMES) (SI)
- 100-43317 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-50398 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-63859 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-46647 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-44815 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-36871 (NATHAN SHAPIRO) (SI)
- 100-51450 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-39846 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-47932 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-56515 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-56514 ([redacted]) (SI)
- 100-66078 (CIRM)
- 100-24101 ([redacted]) (SI)

100-66078-1023

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>cc</i>	FILED <i>cc</i>
NOVEMBER 9, 1966	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

*JCM*

JCM:LAL  
30, *cal* Read by *JCM*

LA 97-16

"Los Angeles, Calif.  
Oct. 19, 1966

"On Sunday Oct. 16, 1966 the 10th Annual Donor Banquet for A Free Press was held at the Ambassador Hotel 3400 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, auspices: So. Calif. Committee for the People's World.

"AL RICHMOND the editor spoke in behalf of the staff, he stated the P.W. had covered all the major events and it will continue to stay alive because of the people and for their interest.

"BEN MARGOLIS was M.C. for the evening.

[redacted] spoke in regards to the Delano Strikers, how the P.W. had covered the events happening during the strike.

[redacted] made the pitch several contributions were donated.

"The main speaker was [redacted] who is campaign manager for HERBERT APTHEKER of New York. He spoke of the term 'Black Power,' the danger of being misused. Could be dangerous, as the term white power, he spoke of the Civil Rights movement had been taken from the hands of the educators and had been in the hands of the middle class or working class. He mentioned the fact since the term Black Power has been used the progressive minded liberals have cut of\_ their support.

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"There was a 12.50 donor contribution a plate for the banquet.

"There were 2000 persons present:

"BEN MARGOLIS

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

DOROTHY HEELEY

AL RICHMOND

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
BILL TAYLOR  
[redacted]

BEN DOBBS

LA 97-16

" [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]"

BILL JAMES  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
NATHAN SHAPERIO  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

ACTION:

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Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

Based on other informants reports, [redacted] appears to be identical to [redacted].





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
DEC 28 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-153735

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 12, 1966, NY T-1 advised that a meeting of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CPUSA) Negro Commission, was held on December 8, 1966, at the Wellington Hotel, New York, New York. The Chairman of the meeting was WILLIAM PATTERSON, the Reporter, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, and the [redacted].

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The meeting lasted nearly five hours. However, much of the time was taken up by speakers relating civil rights activity and problems in their local areas. As a result, the meeting wandered from one topic to another in the civil rights field without any objective thought being given to the subject matter of Party policy. The meeting did agree on the following areas of activity:

1. The CPUSA should develop support for the 185 billion dollar "Freedom Budget" proposed by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, prominent civil rights leader, to eliminate poverty and slum areas during the next ten years.

2. The CPUSA will wholeheartedly support Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, New York City Congressman, in his fight to retain his seat in Congress and chairmanship of the House Labor and Education Committee. The Party feels that POWELL is a roadblock in the path of anti-labor and anti-Negro legislation. The Party will portray Congressmen and individuals who are against POWELL as white supremacists and as anti-union. The Party will state that the attempt to oust POWELL is a direct attack on the Negro people and must be defeated.

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Group 1

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FBI - LOS ANGELES  
LSIM [initials]

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### COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

3. A large Afro-American Conference, national in scope, is planned for the Spring of 1967 in New York, New York. The purpose of the conference will be to aid the emerging nations of Africa and a protest against the imperialistic policies of the United States. The conference ostensibly will be sponsored by a large number of well-known civil rights and anti-imperialist leaders.

The Party has already begun working quietly on this project.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-153735

DEC 28 1966

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Memorandum dated and captioned as above at New York, New York

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



F B I

Date: DEC 28 1966

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)  
FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-15058) (P\*)

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS - C

Re Miami airtel and LHM dated 12/14/66, captioned  
"COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ORGANIZATION, IS - C," containing  
information on 12/3-7/66 CPUSA National Committee Meeting.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 9 copies, for New York  
10 copies, and as designated for other recipient offices, of  
an LHM containing information from [redacted] about the  
12/8/66 Negro Commission meeting.

The LHM is being shown as emanating from the New  
York Office in order to more adequately protect the identity  
of [redacted] an informant of continuing value whose dis-  
closure would have an adverse effect on the national defense  
interests.

b7D

The names of individuals attending were received  
by mail from [redacted], who has been ill, on 12/22/66 and  
are as follows:

3 - Bureau (Enc-9)(RM)

*Los Angeles*

3 - Miami  
(1 - 100-15058)  
(1 - 100-15181)  
(1 - [redacted])

RLO:sll  
(34)

(Copies cont'd page 2)

100-66078-1028

SEARCHED <i>MS</i>	INDEXED _____
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FBI - LOS ANGELES	
<i>SIM</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>

- MM 100-15058

Copies (cont'd)

- 10 - New York (Enc-10) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-153735) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CPUSA Organization)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CPUSA International Relations)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CPUSA Political Activities)
  - (1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
  - (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
  - (1 - 100-143915) ( )
  - (1 - 100-9369) (TED BASSETT)
  - (1 - 100-44781) ( )
  - (1 - 100-148121) ( )
- 2 - Albuquerque (Enc-2) (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100- ) ( )
- 2 - Baltimore (Enc-2) (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100-10584) ( )
- 5 - Chicago (Enc-5) (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100-20289) ( )
  - (1 - 100-3313) ( )
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100- ) (ISHMAEL FLORY)
- 2 - Cleveland (Enc-2) (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (PHIL BART)
- ② - Los Angeles (Enc-2) (RM)
  - ① (1 - 100- ) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (WILLIAM TAYLOR)
- 3 - Philadelphia (Enc-3) (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100- ) ( )
  - (1 - 100- ) ( )
- 2 - Washington Field (Enc-2) (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CIRM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (BILL JOHNSON)

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MM 100-15058

WILLIAM PATTERSON  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]

WILLIAM TAYLOR

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] from New Mexico

ISHMAEL FLORY

JAMES JACKSON

PAT TOOHEY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] from Philadelphia

PHIL BART

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

TED BASSETT

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] from Washington, D. C.

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b7C

Informant advised there were two or three additional persons present, names not recalled.

ISHMAEL FLORY has already been quietly working on arrangements for the Afro-American Conference.

Date received <b>1/10/67</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	Received by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 20px;"></div>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person     by telephone     by mail     orally     recording device     written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: <u>Date</u> Dictated _____ to _____  Transcribed _____  Authenticated by Informant _____	Date of Report <b>1/7/67</b>
	Date(s) of activity

Brief description of activity or material <b>COPY OF DRAFT RESOLUTION ON NEGRO WORK- SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA OBTAINED FROM <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px;"></div> BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px;"></div></b>	b6 b7C b7D
	File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

**THIS IS ORIGINAL - PLEASE RETAIN**

**100-66078-1030**

*[Handwritten scribble]*

Block Stamp

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<b>JAN 1 1967</b> <b>FBI - LOS ANGELES</b>	
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*[Handwritten signature]*

## Draft Resolution on Negro Work - Southern California

The past seven years have seen the rise of revolutionary new trends among Negroes in Southern California. New, young forces have merged as articulate and militant leaders to challenge the historic hegemony of such groups as the NAACP and the Urban League in the Negro movement. G.O.R.E., its splinter groups, Friends of SNCC, the Muslims, their splinter groups, the church movement organized by the Western Christian Leadership Conference, and many ad hoc committees, all have been effective channels through which this change has developed. With many of the struggles intensifying around demands that express a growing awareness of the struggle for peace tied up with the ending of the war in Vietnam, and support for the liberation of the African continent from imperialism. Negroes fighting in Vietnam are in higher proportion than any other sector of the population, just as unemployment, poverty, lack of education, ill-housing, and all the other evils strike the Negro population in far higher proportion.

In addition, the issues of police brutality, jobs, housing, political representation, education are the issues which have stirred the entire Negro community. However, only in the sphere of political representation has there been any notable advance. At the time of our last district convention, the only elected Negroes in Southern California were one member of the state legislature, and two City Councilmen - one in Bakersfield, and one in Elsinore. Today, Southern California Negroes are represented by one congressman, four members of the state legislature, three members of the Los Angeles city council, a councilman and city clerk in Compton, a mayor in Elsinore and a member of the Board of Education in Los Angeles. In addition, there are a number of appointed judges and other officials.

Outstanding in bringing about these advances was the activity of the Committee for Representative Government, which evolved from the California Negro Leadership Conference. These were movements which were (1) based on unity of the Negro population, regardless of political affiliation, and (2) the objectives of the unity were never lost sight of - the population was not diverted from its objective. Also important in achieving these advances were those forces organized by the Negro Democrats, such as the Democratic Minority Committee, NPAC, etc.

The role of CDC, in its alliance with NPAC, CRG, etc., cannot be underestimated in some areas in the development of the unity. The victory of Negro representation in the 10th Councilmanic District in Los Angeles, the election of Reverend [redacted] to the Board of Education, and the election of Brathwaite in the 63rd Assembly District are examples of this. The unity which was developed won the support of labor and, as a result, an unbeatable combination was born - the Negro-labor-CDC alliance.

The alliance has not been consistent - and was disintegrated in the primary fight for Secretary of State - and is lacking in some of the fundamental issues facing the Negro community, such as jobs, police brutality, housing and elimination of school de facto segregation.

In Elsinore, the party and the left played a positive role and helped elect the first Negro mayor in Southern California.

During the past period, picketing, boycotts, other demonstrations led by the civil rights groups have been productive with jobs assured in banks, supermarkets, department stores, etc. But, in most cases, the jobs won have been only of a token nature - with an insignificant number of permanent jobs won - in most cases, the jobs were of the most casual in character.

The "Watts" (South Los Angeles) uprising of 1965 was a shock to the city, state and nation. It was an uprising with no leadership, but with a mass direction. The revolt was directed against those taking super-profits from the poverty-stricken community. It was directed against the Parker sadistic ideology that was carried out by the police in the Negro community. The "burning", and "looting" was confined to the stores and commercial institutions which had a history of extortion, cheating, usury - whose policy of take-all from the community, with no return, was reflected in the lack of jobs in these stores for the residents of the community. No homes were set afire - only one or two were burned which caught fire from neighboring stores. No government - city, county, state or federal, buildings were touched.

Police brutality during the week reached new heights - of the 34 killed, 29 were Negro. All of those killed were slain by police bullets.

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The lie that the two policemen who were killed were slain by participants in the uprising was proved to be erroneous.

The highly touted McCone investigation gave some lip service and suggested certain mild reforms to answer the needs of the Negroes of Los Angeles, but even the least of the proposals of the commission has not been fulfilled. Much activity and support with food, clothing and promises of an alliance to obtain answers to the demands of the South Los Angeles Negroes were made by liberal, labor and left groups following the rebellion. But, as the memory faded, the promises of alliance also faded. Certain liberal groups told Negroes they could not defend them. The Southside Defense Committee, organized for the defense of the victims of the police during the uprising, is now alone in the field of defense, with the help of the Southern California Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights, and the advance forces in the left. There were the only defense groups that did not desert the victims of the Watts upsurge. This Committee, with two outstanding Negro lawyers, defeated the frame-up charge of murder against three Negro young men.

Although victories have been registered in many of the struggles of the Negro community, most of the demands still remain to be won. There have been very little advance in housing, jobs and elimination of police brutality. Even in the electoral field the advances have only been token. There is great need for equality in employment through job promotion, for enforcement of the fair employment practiced laws, enforcement and strengthening of the Rumford Fair Housing law (and with the Regan victory - this means a real struggle). The colonialist policies of the city and state establishments in the Negro community, based on double standards, must be eliminated. De facto segregation must be wiped out of the schools of Southern California.

A big problem, which is not insurmountable, in the struggle for equality is the constant need to wage the battle against passivity in the white community. The so-called white backlash is the transference of this passivity to active chauvinism. Our Party must be in the forefront, not only in the fight against this chauvinism, but must lead the fight to expose the passivity and win the passive forces.

There is considerable disagreement about tactical questions within the community, posed around concepts such as integration vs. black power, quality education vs. integrated education, non-violence vs. self-defense, etc. Our role should be one of establishing that none of these approaches is mutually exclusive, nor are the trends which produce them necessarily in long-range conflict. Superficial observers, both within and without the "movement", regard these slogans and concepts as if they were fixed, opposed categories, rather than as complementary aspects of one common objective - freedom.

This is a major aspect of our approach - the recognition that the objective conditions oppressing the Negro people evoke, of necessity, a diverse response, each having a specific validity, each reflecting the needs and responses of the community. It is because this necessary diversity is not recognized that slogans, leaders and organizations are seen as competitors, rather than allies; and this, in turn, contributes to the difficulty in consolidating a Negro peoples' movement.

Further, those who seek theoretical purity in slogans or tactical perspectives miss the significant lessons to be learned from history. The test comes from relevance to both immediate struggle and long-range goals, not from an abstract @litmus paper@. The role of the Party includes recognizing which aspect of struggle, at any one point, is dominant, which is most conducive to strengthening mass movements in organized struggle, how to relate what is @new@ and advanced to the masses.

The significance of the slogan of black power is its recognition that without independent organization in the ghetto no substantial coalition can be built. With that recognition comes awareness of national consciousness and the working class status of the bulk of the Negro people.

We know that negative aspects of nationalism will also arise, including attempts by the ultra-right to utilize separatist theories for their own divisive ends, but these ~~theories~~ approaches can be fought effectively only within the context of an appreciation of the positive elements of national pride and identification.

The struggle for integration represents an equally valid revolutionary goal; namely, the over-all, long-range goal of a united working class, black and white, struggling for common class objectives. But neither black nor white

workers, in any substantial numbers, will recognize this mutual need in one fell swoop. As long as the practices and ideology of white supremacy are dominant, Negro workers will see "Whitey" as the enemy, and white workers will fear Negro workers as competitors for jobs and "depreciators" of property values.

A beginning of this understanding was seen in Los Angeles in the development of the organization TALO (Temporary Alliance of Local Organizations), an all-Negro group, which grew out of the Detwyler murder. This organization played a major role in preventing further police brutality and provocation in the community, and further unified the community in the development and support of the Citizens Alert Patrol. It also brought out into the open and exposed the Birchite puppets who, with narrow bourgeois nationalism, were attempting to assume community leadership to the detriment of the community.

The existence of anti-Semitism and anti-Mexican feeling in the Negro community cannot be equated with the chauvinism that is directed primarily against the Negro. The roots of the anti-Semitism and the anti-Mexican expression is part of the divide-and-rule policy of capitalism and imperialism, and is a class policy to dull the resistance to poverty, unemployment and discrimination. The fact that there are Jewish merchants among the merchants and landlords in the ghetto cannot be denied. But it must be pointed out that the Jewish merchants, employers and landlords are not the only exploiters of the ghetto. Also, it must be noted that the Jews who are the merchants, landlords, etc., in the ghetto are not necessarily the worst offenders or the most exploitive. Negro bourgeois nationalists in the pay of or working with the ultra-right, have selected the Jewish businessmen in the ghetto as their prime target to divert the struggle from a class struggle to a racial struggle. Communists and progressives must not only expose the falsity of the anti-Semitic drive in the Negro community, but must also mobilize the progressive and working-class Jewish population to expose the exploiters who are helping to weaken and destroy Negro-Jewish unity.

Negro - Mexican-American unity in our area is a must in the struggle for equality. Nearly all the issues that haunt the Negro community are the problems of the Mexican-American community. There is a formal division in our country, and that is that Mexican-Americans are legally classified as white, while all other colored people are classified as Negro, Oriental, etc. However, the Mexican-Americans, who have been victims of the Parker ideology of police brutality in both its oral and physical forms, find no value in this legal distinction. The lack of political representation reflects the lack of unity between Negroes and Mexican-Americans. This is a reflection of the way the Yorty forces and others have been using divisive tactics in the struggles around the War on Poverty - and unless this unity is won - this division will wreck the few gains won in both groups.

What are some of the objectives in the coming period?

A viable and active movement of the Negro Labor Council type is needed in the labor movement. It has a two-fold task - (a) Leading the struggle for the elimination of job discrimination in our district by fighting for employment and upgrading of Negroes to all levels of employment; and (b) Uniting with progressive forces in the labor movement for the election of Negroes to leading posts, not only in the local unions and their parent bodies, but to achieve full representation in the councils of the AFL-CIO, and organizing the working class forces in the community to give leadership in the political and economic struggles.

Strengthening of such organizations as the Southside Defense Committee and the Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights, C.O.R.E., SNCC, and other left and militant centers of struggle for Negro freedom, coupled with the broadest activity with the ELKS, WGLC, NLC, NAACP, Muslims, etc., and building alliances with peace, labor and civil rights groups in the white community.

Conducting the widest discussion and study and debate with nationalist, reformist and other ideologies; searching for areas of agreement and disagreement with Marxist theory.

Driving for the winning of working class Negro youth, both employed and unemployed, with special concentration on helping those who are resisting the draft. Winning the Negro youth in the fight for peace and solidarity with all colonial peoples.

Giving full support to the attempts to transfer the present program of the War on Poverty into a real fight and campaign to wipe out poverty. See that the money allocated by Federal law is not only spent for developing the structure

to end poverty, but that at least 75% of the funds go directly to the poverty-stricken.

In the coming period we urge the broadest unity in the Negro community for jobs, open housing full allocation of funds to schools in the area to bring their standards to the highest possible level, and for representation, both elective and appointive, at all levels of government.

We are determined to fight for socialism as the only means of wiping out poverty and discrimination, and we will do our best to convince the American people, including the Negro people, of the necessity for fighting for socialism.



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Los Angeles, California  
January 5, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 12 - Bureau (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - NIS, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (157-943) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- (1 - 100-66078) (CIRM) Group I

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(19)

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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*- Pages 5 + 13, L.A.*

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100-66078-1044

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION . . . . .	4
II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS . . . . .	5 - 9
III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL . . . . .	.10 - 11
IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION . . . . .	.12
V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED. . . . .	.13
VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS . . . . .	.14
VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION . . . . .	.15
VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS . . . . .	.16

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL  
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP  
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL  
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

Los Angeles, California

On October 25, 1966, source 1, a highly placed official in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), advised that on October 24, 1966, LAPD officers, in response to an anonymous telephone call observed two male Caucasians and two male Negroes in an alley at 95th Street and Central Avenue, Los Angeles. The men advised they were making a "research and training" film for the Teen Posts in the area. The men were using an automobile bearing the word "Police" on the front doors, and uniforms resembling those worn by LAPD officers were observed in the car. The two male Caucasians interviewed were [redacted] and [redacted] stated he represented the Brooks Foundation of Santa Barbara, California.

Source 1 advised on October 25, 1966, that the name of [redacted] was maintained on the mailing list of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) (see appendix) on September 23, 1966.

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On December 8, 1966, Mr. [redacted] [redacted] Brooks Foundation, [redacted] Santa Barbara, advised the Foundation was engaged in research and development of instructional communications. He stated the motion picture referred to above was a legitimate project of the Foundation and they had notified the LAPD six weeks in advance that they would do location shooting at 110th and Wilmington Streets, Los Angeles. He stated they had also advised the LAPD on the day they had done the film. [redacted] stated they were making a study of anti-social persons in the Negro community and the project was intended to help some of the Negroes in the Watts area to "work out their frustrations in a community project." He stated it was not the intention of the Foundation to encourage any riot or

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

unlawful action. He stated the story line of the film was in the hands of a Baptist church Teen Post in the Watts area, headed by [redacted] and [redacted] had suggested they delete the portion of the film concerning police brutality. Mr. [redacted] stated [redacted] was hired as a temporary cameraman for the film and stated [redacted] of the Brooks Foundation, based in New York City, was project director. [redacted] was initially responsible for interesting the Foundation in the film project.

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There is no information in the files of the Los Angeles Office identifiable with [redacted] or the Brooks Foundation.

[redacted]

On June 19, 1952, [redacted], a Hollywood writer, admitted to a Special Agent of the FBI that he had been a member of the Communist Party in Hollywood, California, from approximately 1937 to 1940. He identified 16 other individuals as members of the Communist Party during this same period. He also names communist-dominated organizations with which he had been associated up to 1949.

On October 24, 1960, source 2 advised that in October, 1960, [redacted] appeared to be "very far left of center" but appeared to be "bitterly anti-communist."

On December 8, 1966, source 3 advised the Brooks Foundation appeared to be a legitimate organization and neither it nor anyone connected with it had ever been connected with any subversive organizations in the Santa Barbara, California, area.

In the "Daily Variety," magazine of the Hollywood movie industry, issue of November 11, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting the Watts Film Festival, set up to show new movies to

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

residents of the depressed area for 25 cents a ticket, had an immediate obligation of \$3,000 which had to be met within six weeks. The article pointed out weekly expenses for the Festival were \$110; however, a maximum of \$150 per week was taken in admissions. [redacted] of the Festival, indicated the possibility of aid from some government agency to help the Festival continue in operation.

In the "Open Forum," publication of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Southern California, issue of December, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that four Police Malpractice Complaint Centers sponsored by the ACLU had received 79 allegations of police misconduct since opening their first office in Watts in July, 1966. In 43 of the allegations, staff members of the centers recommended formal complaints be filed with appropriate reviewing authorities. Among the allegations were 15 cases of false arrest, 17 of brutality and 11 complaints ranging from homicide to verbal abuse.

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In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 10, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that Edward Lee King had been convicted of arson in connection with the Watts riot of August, 1965. He was convicted largely on the basis of an anonymous confession on television, and on "voiceprint" testimony identifying his voice as that of the individual who appeared on television. He is due to be sentenced on January 17, 1967.

In the "Pasadena Star News," newspaper of Pasadena, California, December 16, 1966, I-6, was an article reporting that Paul Jacobs, a staff member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, had been present as a speaker at a two-day conference at the University of Southern California (USC) on December 15 and 16, 1966. The conference analyzed the McCone report on the Watts riot of August, 1965. Jacobs stated Los Angeles police had "the image of a combat

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

organization for South Los Angeles residents." Jacobs criticized the McCone report for the "attitudes of its authors." He stated the McCone Commission intended to defend the LAPD before they began their investigation.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of December 22, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA) had agreed to forward a request to Washington, D.C., for funds to finance two thirds of \$270,000, the cost of building a new "Watts Happening" coffee house in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page 8A, was an article reporting the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) had already trained and placed more than 200 people in various jobs in the Los Angeles area and the outlook for jobs in 1967 was very favorable. The OIC had been financed for the first nine months by a Ford Foundation grant, and is now attempting to raise \$100,000 in a fund drive to continue operations.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page 10B, was an article reporting many job openings were available through the offices of the Los Angeles Urban League. There is no charge for this service either to applicant or employers.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page 2A, was an article reporting that the Community Conservation Corps (CCC), an adjunct of the Watts Labor Community Action Committee (WLCAC), had received confirmation from the Department of Labor that they would receive a total of \$325,725 to further their program through June, 1967. The CCC project serves 1,400 to 1,800 children and young adults in the Watts area of Los Angeles. The Corps manages recreational, educational and social activities in the area.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 29, 1966, Page A3, was an article reporting the Community Skill Center was in operation at 150th and Figueroa Streets in Los Angeles. The Center is funded by a 3.5 million dollar Federal grant to train people in the poverty area for jobs.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 23, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting the Apartment Association of Los Angeles County had taken sharp exception to a suit by the California Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) which resulted in a Reseda, California, property owner being ordered to reserve one apartment for possible use by a Negro. The Association issued a statement that the property owner had been "deprived without trial or chance to defend himself in the use of his property for at least 15 days and possibly several months." The Association stated the property owner was forced to hire an attorney while the plaintiff was furnished free counsel. The statement concluded that the Rumford Act under which the suit was brought denied apartment owners "the right...in American jurisprudence that no man is guilty until so proved."

In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 30, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that Paul Bullock, University of California at Los Angeles economist, stated that as long as the poor in Watts take the cynical view that a job is only a source of money and not a step toward a career, the war on poverty would not succeed. He stated nothing in the background of the youth in the ghetto suggests any certainty of reward as a result of self-sacrifice. He stated it may not make good sense to a Negro poor person to "give up hustling 'pot' in order to concentrate on a car wash job." He speculated that "white collar" crimes of income tax cheating, price fixing and usury "rob society a great deal more than do the dramatic crimes of the urban ghetto."

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE

Los Angeles, California

On December 20, 1966, source 4, a Negro who is closely associated with the Negro community in Los Angeles, advised he believed the situation in the Watts area of Los Angeles had improved, but whether the improvement would continue would depend on the direction of the poverty program. He stated if funds are cut or the program is curtailed, tensions will increase and gains made will be lost.

On December 20, 1966, source 5, a Negro closely associated with the Negro community in the Los Angeles area, advised he did not believe there had been any real lessening of tensions in the Watts area and stated another riot could develop if circumstances similar to those in August, 1965, arose. He stated the only way to improve the racial situation was for Negroes to help themselves.

On January 3, 1967, source 1 advised the racial situation in the Los Angeles area was relatively calm and there had been no recent incidents of a racial nature which might give way to violence. Source stated, however, that a routine arrest or street fight could trigger violence at almost any time.

Pacoima - Shadow Hills area

Shadow Hills is a part of the City of Los Angeles on the edge of Sunland, California, which is also part of the City of Los Angeles. The area is northwest of downtown Los Angeles and immediately east of Pacoima, California.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 3, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting increasing racial tension in the Shadow

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Hills area. The Los Angeles City Board of Education ruled in 1964 that Shadow Hills children should attend Maclay Junior High School in Pacoima instead of overcrowded Mt. Gleason Junior High School in Sunland. In July, 1965, the School Board made such attendance mandatory. Maclay school has a student body which is one-third "Anglo," one-third Mexican-American and one-third Negro. Many people in the area insist the problem involves racial prejudice, and neighbors, churches and youth groups have been "splintered" by bitterness of the problem. Those opposing the transfer of children to Maclay Junior High claim the School Board is engaged in "forced integration."

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS  
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

The following organizations referred to under Section II above have been involved in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area:

The ACLU, through four Police Malpractice Complaint Centers.

The Urban League continues to find jobs for workers in the poverty areas of Los Angeles.

The OIC continues to train workers in the poverty areas of Los Angeles.

The WLCAC still administers the CCC, helping youth in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

The Community Skill Center is teaching job skills to persons in the poverty areas of Los Angeles.

Under Section VII below, the Westminster Neighborhood Association, Incorporated, (WNAI), continues to be involved in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND  
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

[redacted] is [redacted] of the WLCAC, which continues to administer the CCC in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

Under Section VI below, [redacted] [redacted] of the WNAI, writes a regular column in the "Los Angeles Sentinel" newspaper.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page B-9, was an article reporting that the trial of John Wesley Harris, Jr., had been set for March 6, 1967, in the Superior Court of Los Angeles. Harris faces a possible prison term of one to 14 years if convicted of criminal syndicalism for distributing inflammatory leaflets during a period of racial tension in Los Angeles in March, 1966.

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[redacted]

On July 27, 1966, source 6 advised that as of July, 1966, [redacted], was a member of the Los Angeles Club, PLP.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION  
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL  
OFFICIALS

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY  
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 29, 1966, Page 6A, was a column written by Archie W. Hardwick, Executive Director of the WNAI. Hardwick referred to the two-day seminar at the USC on December 15 and 16, 1966, discussing the McCone report on the Watts riot. He stated it was time to stop the various "studies" and start implementing the proposals and conclusions of these studies. He stated the result of all the studies was a "great big, fat, round ZERO." He reported that only after eight weeks of study had the McCone "committee" invited 20 agency leaders involved in such problems to the proceedings, as "an after thought." He stated the "committee" had already reached its own preconceived conclusions and disregarded the proposals of those really qualified to understand the problems.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page A3, was an article reporting that Mayor Yorty, in a speech in New York City to an audience of police officers had stated Los Angeles would not have a police review board as long as he was mayor. He stated political officials "must back their police chiefs and police force." The article also reported Yorty had called on Governor Ronald Reagan to create a department of Urban Affairs to work with cities on problems which are of concern to the state.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; to Naval Investigative Service, Los Angeles; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles, and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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1/5/67

MEMO FOR MAIL-REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)  
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)(P)  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR UNION STRIKES  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to the Director dated 12/20/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of a LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for Bufile 100-42529 (CIRM).

Local military agencies, the U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the U.S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

Investigation of the Brooks Foundation in Santa Barbara, set out under Section II, was conducted by SA [redacted]

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The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

3 - Bureau (Encls. 12)(RM)  
(1 - 100-42529)(CIRM)  
2 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-66073)(CIRM)

LDJ/jac  
(5)

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INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_

SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_

-1045

LA 157-043

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity</u>
1	[REDACTED]
2	[REDACTED]
3	[REDACTED]
4	[REDACTED] Regional Coordinator, SNCC
5	[REDACTED] Head of the Afro-American Citizens Council
6	[REDACTED]

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This LMI is classified confidential because data furnished by sources 1, 3, and 6 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the effectiveness thereof.

In the two-week period from 12/19/66 - 1/1/67 nine potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California  
January 23, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

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Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

- 12 - Bureau (157-6-26) (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - Naval Investigative Service, San Diego (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles
- (1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)

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100-66078-1047

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Pages</u>
I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION.....	4
II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS.....	5 - 7
III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL.....	8 - 10
IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION.....	11
V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED.....	12
VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS.....	13
VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION.....	14
VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS.....	15

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL  
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP  
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL  
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

Los Angeles, California

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Dispatch," a Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of January 5, 1967, page 1, was an article reporting that Ben Peery, President of the Watts Coordinating Council, had objected to National Broadcasting Company filming of a television epic entitled, "Losers Weepers," on the basis it gave a bad or false image of Watts, California. The play was written by Harry Dolan, a newcomer to Watts. Peery stated the film was an "insult to every decent Negro woman in America and ...a slur on the attitude of motherhood in our community."

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that five of the original seven persons given temporary appointments to "represent the poor" on the Los Angeles County anti-poverty board could not qualify for the positions today, because they make over the \$4,000 a year minimum required for the position. Three of the five persons now work for the anti-poverty program.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-6, was an article reporting that Los Angeles had instituted a two million dollar Community Analysis Program to chart the "physical, economic and social profiles" of the city. The study is to take three years and will furnish data for planners and administrators. Other cities call the same program the Community Renewal Program. The study will be financed two-thirds by the Federal Government and one third by Los Angeles. Critics feel the study will produce no tangible results.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of January 12, 1967, page A-1, was an article

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

reporting the United States Department of Urban Development had funded approximately \$350,000 to survey and plan for a redevelopment of the Watts area of Los Angeles. Congressman Augustus Hawkins and Mayor Samuel Yorty expressed pleasure over the funding, which is hoped to solve many problems in the area.

A similar article in the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-1, reported that after the above survey, more than six million dollars would be available for the actual reconstruction of the area, which should take several years.

On January 12, 1967, source 1, a highly placed official in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), advised that Father [ ] of the Episcopal Church Teen Post in East Los Angeles, had stated the Happy Valley Community Alert Patrol had been disbanded as there was no longer a need for it. He stated, however, that his assistant, Father [ ] was still on the steering committee of the Police Malpractice Complaint Center at 2222 East First Street, Los Angeles. Father [ ] is a member of the State Bar of California and a graduate of Stanford Law School.

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In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 17, 1967, I-3, was an article reporting that two million dollars was voted by the Los Angeles Board of Education to establish a new Southwest Los Angeles Junior College in the Watts area of Los Angeles. The site is considered controversial, and [ ] of the Los Angeles College Teachers Association stated the new school would be an all-Negro school, extending 12 years of segregated education to 14 years.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Monrovia - Duarte area

Monrovia and Duarte are cities in the San Gabriel Valley, approximately 15 and 20 miles respectively east of Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-9, was an article reporting the installation of new officers for the Monrovia - Duarte Human Relations Council (HRC). Mrs. [redacted] of Monrovia heads the group. She announced open housing was the most important concern of the organization and stated the HRC would maintain a listing service to help citizens find housing outside of traditional areas.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-9, was an article announcing that 210 teachers and administrators of the Duarte Unified School District were to attend two programs on human relations at Duarte High School, to aid the district in awareness and planning regarding minority groups in the area.

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-2, was an article reporting that Duarte city councilman Kurt Hahn stated he vigorously opposed a plan to merge the LAPD and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office (LASO), being studied by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. Councilman Hahn stated he "wanted no part of central Los Angeles racial or poverty programs which would become an overriding consideration in a merged metropolitan police agency." The LASO presently polices the city of Duarte.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 16, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting a citizens school committee had been established in Monrovia to study "obvious racial imbalance" in the school system.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE  
POTENTIAL

Los Angeles, California

On January 17, 1967, source 1 advised the general racial situation in the Los Angeles area appeared calm, with no particular incidents of racial tension at the present. Source stated, however, that Negro leaders have indicated concern over cut backs in the poverty program and over possible further cut backs by the new Reagan administration. Source could predict no racial violence in the foreseeable future.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an article by Archie W. Hardwick, Executive Director of the Westminster Neighborhood Association, analyzing the riots during the summer of 1966. He stated the basic reasons for the riots were "bitterness and frustration fostered by overcrowded slums...unemployment...and ineffective cooperation between the races." He stated until Americans realized this and did something about conditions the riots would continue. He pointed out that Americans apparently do not realize this because of the so-called "back lash" to the riots, and the blaming of them on "outside agitators... and Communists." He stated most of the riots would not have occurred had the conditions which caused them been changed in advance.

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Venice, California

Venice is an area of Los Angeles immediately adjacent to Santa Monica, California, policed by the LAPD.

On December 21, 1966, [redacted] of "Project Action," a Negro self-help organization in Venice, stated his group was conducting training programs for youths from poor and broken

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

homes in the area. He stated in his opinion the reported incidents during the summer and fall of 1966 in Venice by the police and residents were minor in nature and were exaggerated by the newspapers. He stated he was at the scene of each incident and they were grossly exaggerated. He stated he anticipated no racial trouble in the Venice and Santa Monica areas in the near future.

(1) On January 12, 1967, California Health and Welfare Administrator Spencer Williams announced the closing of eight out of 13 Service Centers throughout California. The centers had been instituted to provide varied services to residents of poverty areas after the Watts riot of August, 1965. Among the centers closed was the center at 324 Lincoln Boulevard, Venice.

(2) On January 13, 1967, source 1 advised there had been a meeting in Venice on the night of January 12, 1967, where a protest over the closing of the Venice Service Center (VSC) was planned. Speakers at the meeting stated if they did not get what they wanted they would "burn" outside of Venice. Source considered the remarks a baseless threat with no location for such "burning" being mentioned. Pickets marched in front of the VSC on January 13 and on January 16 to 18, 1967, and picketed the Los Angeles residence of Governor Reagan on January 13, 1967.

Source 1 advised the organizations sponsoring the demonstrations were "Project Action" and the Venice Community Improvement Union, described by source as a non-existent union headed by [redacted] male Negro who participated in the demonstrations. Source further advised John Haag had been active in planning the demonstrations.

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(3) Source 2 advised on November 3, 1966, that John Haag was area chairman of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club (see appendix) in Los Angeles until he resigned in early 1966 to assume a position with a new political group.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

The office of the Watch Commander, Venice Division, LAPD, advised on January 16, 1967, that the situation in the Venice area was normal, other than for the above demonstrations. Source 1 advised on January 16, 1967, there did not appear to be an increase in tension in the southeastern and Watts areas of Los Angeles as a result of the demonstrations.

Source 3 advised on January 18, 1967, there had been a meeting of the City-wide Central Committee of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club in Los Angeles on January 17, 1967, at which plans were announced for a demonstration at the VSC on January 19, 1967, which might be "unpleasant" if Governor Reagan's office did not meet demands of those at the VSC.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 19, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting a confused state of affairs regarding the VSC. Center Director Phillip Carter announced the center would remain open because of promised Los Angeles city and county participation. Mayor Samuel Yorty announced the city council would appropriate \$50,000 to keep the center going, however, Carter stated operating costs were \$25,000 per month. A statement from the office of Governor Reagan made it plain the governor expected the city and county to provide any services.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS  
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

On January 17, 1967, source 1 advised there is a Social Action Training Center at 1423 East Florence Avenue, in the southeastern Los Angeles area. [redacted] of the Commission on Church and Race of the Southern California Council of Churches, stated the center is financed partially by the above commission and partially by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The purpose of the center is to instruct young Negroes and Mexican-Americans in history and sociology. The program is designed to identify those who are leaders of their groups and to try to influence them toward constructive social action. One of the supervisors of this center is [redacted], an active member of the Los Angeles chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality and a member of the Non-Violent Action Committee. The center is directed by Mr. [redacted].

On March 25, 1966, source 4 advised [redacted] was a speaker at a meeting of the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (see appendix) on March 4, 1966, at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles.

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-8, was an article reporting that Congressman Augustus Hawkins has saluted the Community Alert Patrol (CAP) for the excellent services it had rendered citizens in his district. He praised [redacted] and [redacted] for leading the CAP.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an editorial by columnist Leon H. Washington, Jr., reporting that data gathered in "Upward Bound" projects reflected that youths from poor backgrounds who now go to college at the rate of eight per cent could be motivated by continuation of the program to go at the rate of more than 50 per cent. The editorial urged expanded support for the program by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

The following individuals have been involved in the local racial situation:

[redacted] of "Project Action," is active in the racial situation in the Venice area (see Section III).

[redacted] of the Social Action Training Center, 1423 East Florence Avenue, Los Angeles. [redacted] is one of the supervisors at this center (see Section IV).

[redacted] and [redacted] head the Citizens Alert Patrol in the Los Angeles area (see Section IV).

[redacted] of the Watts Coordinating Council, remains active in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area (see Section VI).

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 5, 1967, page A-1, was an article reporting that Thomas L. Galloway, whose arrest triggered a night of rioting in Watts in March, 1966, was sentenced to a term of one to ten years on three counts of battery of a police officer and one count of felony rock throwing. He was convicted on these charges in June, 1966, but sentencing had been delayed to permit a psychiatric examination of [redacted].

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 17, 1967, II-2, was an article reporting that Edward Lee King, convicted of arson during the Watts riots of August, 1965, on the basis of "voice print" testimony had been sentenced to a term of one to ten years in Superior Court, Los Angeles.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION  
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL  
OFFICIALS

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 18, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that a citizens advisory council in the 77th Division area of the LAPD had hailed the LAPD for opening up communications with the community in the past months since Chief of Police Thad Brown has been in charge of the LAPD. Reverend Joe B. Hardwick, pastor of a Baptist church in the area, stated the council meets with the LAPD Division every month. He said allegations of mistreatment have been presented to the LAPD with "satisfactory results." [redacted], [redacted] of the Watts Coordinating Council stated "the old tenseness is gone" and "you no longer encounter the feeling of hostility" toward police.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY  
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-6, was an article reporting a major integration move is being planned by the Los Angeles City School District. Called the Mid-City Secondary Education Project, it is to cost 1.4 million dollars. The plan emphasizes an exchange of as many as 750 students by bus among five high schools in a modification of the national concept of "educational parks." Different schools will specialize in laboratories in different subjects, with students traveling to another school for these special subjects. The project is voluntary and has been approved by the State Department of Education and the United States Office of Education.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an article by Wesley R. Brazier of the Urban League, congratulating the Los Angeles City Board of Education for approving the above project. He considered the plan "psychologically significant" and stated it was a significant application of community action.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an article reporting that President Johnson and Poverty Director Sargent Shriver were being urged to save some of the anti-poverty programs in Los Angeles. Mayor Samuel Yorty announced the pleas were made by his office in recent letters. Yorty stated that the ten million dollar cutback could be serious, "undoing much of the good that has been accomplished."

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; to Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles; and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 12, 1966, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

16

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

1/23/57

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL-REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)  
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-245)(P)  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE  
MAJOR URBAN AREAS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to Bureau dated 1/5/57.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for Bufile 100-442529 (CIRM).

Local military agencies, the U.S. Coast Service, Los Angeles, and the U.S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity</u>
1	[Redacted]
2	[Redacted]
3 - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM) (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)	
4 - Los Angeles (1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)	

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EDJ/Sec  
(5)

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INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
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FILED \_\_\_\_\_

1048

LA 157-943

Source

Location

3

[REDACTED]

4

[REDACTED]

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The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by source 1 through 4 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of a continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 1/1 through 1/15/67 ten potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>LOS ANGELES</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>1/20/67</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/17 - 1/23/67</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px; margin: 5px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>gnt</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - C</b>	

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REFERENCE: Report of SA  dated 10/28/66 at Los Angeles.

- P\* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished San Diego and San Francisco for information in view of their mutual interest in matters concerned in this report.

This report is classified confidential because data received from confidential informants utilized therein tends to identify sources of continuing value and could possibly compromise their future effectiveness.

Case has been: Pending over one year  Yes  No; Pending prosecution over six months  Yes  No

APPROVED  SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW																														
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM) 1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM) 1 - NISO, San Diego (RM) 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 1 - San Diego (100-13295) (RM) 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (RM) ③ - Los Angeles (100-66078)	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> <td style="width: 25%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">SEARCHED <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">INDEXED <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">SERIALIZED <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;"><i>all</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">FILED <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> </table>					SEARCHED <input type="checkbox"/>				INDEXED <input type="checkbox"/>				SERIALIZED <input type="checkbox"/>		<i>all</i>		FILED <input type="checkbox"/>													
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LA 100-66078

The Special Agent who obtained the four-page PIP leaflet on 10/12/66 was SA [REDACTED].

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will submit reports on a quarterly basis.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

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LA T-1  
[REDACTED]

LA T-2  
[REDACTED]

LA T-3  
[REDACTED]

LA T-4  
[REDACTED]

LA T-5  
[REDACTED]

LA T-6  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-66078-996

LA T-7  
Anonymous (Leaflet was pushed under Reception Room door of the Los Angeles Division by unknown individual)

100-66078-996

- B -

COVER PAGE

LA 100-66078

LA T-8

[REDACTED]

100-66078-1007

LA T-9

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-66078-996

LA T-10

[REDACTED]

To characterize

[REDACTED]

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LA T-11

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-66078-996

LA T-12

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-13

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LA T-14

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- C\* -

COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)  
1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM)  
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)

Report of: GORDON M. SIM  
Date: 1/30/67

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-66078

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) efforts in racial matters through W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs, and SCDCP plans and strategy in helping those in the Negro and Mexican-American communities set forth. Activities of Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist (CP, USA, M-L) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) set forth.

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Group I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

LA 100-66078

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY.....	3
(A) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.....	3
(1) SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY.....	3 - 4
(2) COMMUNIST PARTY YOUTH MATTERS.....	4
(3) W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS.....	4
(B) OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS.....	4
(1) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MARXIST-LENINIST.	4 - 6
(2) PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY.....	7 - 9
(3) PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY.....	9 - 14
II. COMMUNIST TACTICS.....	15

LA 100-66078

DETAILS:

All meetings described herein were held in Los Angeles, California, unless otherwise indicated.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

(A) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)

(1) SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)

LA T-1 (9/26/66)

The Communist Party (CP) Southwest Regional Mexican-American Conference was held on September 10-11, 1966, at 3875 City Terrace Drive. During this conference, one of the reports outlined the many failures of the party in relation to the Mexicans, not only in recruiting, but in preparing leaders for the party. It was felt that Mexican membership in the party was very weak, even though recruiting people into the party was easier today. It was also felt that there was a need for a Spanish column in the "People's World" (PW). A great deal of emphasis was placed on the need to educate the party on the Mexican-American question.

The PW is a weekly West Coast Communist newspaper.

LA T-2 (10/6/66)

At the September 11, 1966, session of the Southwest Regional Mexican-American Conference held at 3875 City Terrace Drive, one of the main topics of discussion was the many problems the Mexican-American people in the southwest face in their daily lives and how to mobilize that sector of the community politically. It was proposed that there be an election of a regional chairman and secretary in order to start the formation of a regional body to deal with the question of the CP's work in the mobilization of the Mexican-American community.

LA 100-66078

LA T-3 (9/21/66)

At a meeting of Communist leaders held on September 20, 1966, at 1254 Manchester Boulevard, one of those present said he would like to see more Negro and Mexican-American representation in the various left-wing activities; that there was a tragic lack of interest shown by these two factions.

(2) COMMUNIST PARTY YOUTH MATTERS

LA T-4 (12/8/66)

One of the leading members of the SCDCP recently requested one of the CP members to write an article dealing with the youth aspect of a report to be presented to the District Convention of the SCDCP. This individual was requested to pay particular attention to the question of Negro recruitment.

(3) W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS  
(SEE APPENDIX FOR W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)

LA T-5 (10/7/66)

At a Steering Committee meeting of the Los Angeles Du Bois Club (LADBC) held at 1027 West Kensington Road, on September 27, 1966, the chairman of the LADBC gave a report on the National Coordinating Meeting of the Du Bois Clubs. He said that one of the things he wanted to accomplish was to put the focus of the Du Bois Clubs on Negro youth; that he wanted to organize a basic Marxist class for Negro youth.

(B) OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

(1) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MARXIST-LENINIST (CP, USA, M-L)  
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-6 (10/14/66)

Source advised that ELMO J. BIRKLEY, male Negro, age 15, was shot and killed by a Los Angeles Police Department officer during the early morning hours of October 14, 1966. Source stated the police chased BIRKLEY in a stolen automobile on a high-speed chase

LA 100-66078

on the Hollywood Freeway. When the car became involved in a minor accident, BIRKLEY leaped out of the car, reached toward his belt as if reaching for a gun, and was shot with a shotgun. Source stated that BIRKLEY was on probation. Source also advised that top police officials were concerned over possible racial violence as a result of the shooting.

LA T-7 (10/14/66)

Source furnished a CP, USA, M-L leaflet concerning the shooting of BIRKLEY, mentioned above, a copy of which follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## WATTS YOUTH MURDERED BY POLICE

Elmo Jerry Birkley, 15 years old, who lived here in Watts at 8811 John Avenue, was murdered last night by police as he drove on the Hollywood Freeway in North Hollywood. The youth was unarmed and yet he was blown to pieces by a shotgun fired by a racist cop. This murder represents the third murder of an innocent worker in California in the last six months.

The excuse used by the cops for this latest murder was that young Mr. Birkley was driving an "allegedly" stolen automobile. It has not been confirmed that the auto being driven was actually stolen, but even if it was, does driving a stolen automobile warrant the death penalty? Of course not! This killing is another brutal murder by the racist imperialist police. The police are hired killers and thugs of the bourgeoisie whose job it is to beat down the workers and intimidate the poor as much as possible. Just as with Leonard Deadwyler last Spring, or Matthew Johnson in San Francisco last month, the police murdered Elmo Birkley of Watts for being poor, not for any crime he committed against society.

How many more murders by the bourgeois police must there be before they learn their lesson? The people must organize into armed defense units in order to protect themselves from the brutality of the police. The reactionary violence of the ruling class and its police must be met with the revolutionary violence of the people. The only way that the workers can liberate themselves is if they arm with guns and organize for their own defense. The organized, unified strength of the people, led by the Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is invincible.

PROTEST THE POLICE MURDER OF YOUR NEIGHBOR, ELMO JERRY BIRKLEY.  
ATTEND THE PROTEST MEETING TONIGHT, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1966, AT 8 PM,  
AT THE PEOPLE'S VOICE BOOK STORE AND READING ROOM, 9122 SOUTH COMPTON  
AVENUE, LOS ANGELES (CORNER OF S. COMPTON AVENUE AND E. 92ND STREET).  
TELEPHONE: 569-2542.

Stop police brutality; support and join the People's Armed  
Defense Groups. OPPOSE REACTIONARY VIOLENCE WITH REVOLUTIONARY  
VIOLENCE.

Issued by the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), Los Angeles  
Branch.

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LA 100-66078

(e) PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A  
MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)  
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-8 (10/30/66)

Source furnished the following leaflet entitled, "The Fraud of the Elections" which was issued by the POC and distributed in the Jordan Downs Housing Project, 9800 Grape Street, in the Watts area of Los Angeles:

"The time has come again for the American circus called elections.

"Two years have passed since we last chose which of the politicians was going to oppress and exploit us. Now, after two years of robbery and murder, they pretend to allow us to judge and express our dissatisfaction by trading Tweedly Dee for Tweedly Dum.

"This year, the so called candidates have been especially cynical. They don't even try to present a difference on the important issues. Of the most important events in this period has been the revolts of the Negro masses in Los Angeles and the Bay Area. These phoney candidates have agreed not to mention the Negro movement. Why? Because their positions are identical - Use the Troops, - Use the Shotgun, - Use the club. They won't discuss the Negro movement because as loyal representatives of the ruling class both Brown and Regan are committed to the job of crushing, buying out and subverting the Negro peoples movement. Concerning the dirty imperialist war against the people of Viet Nam, both Brown and Regan are committed to carrying out the aggression against and the slaughter of the brave Viet Nameese people. In fact, there is not and there cannot be any difference in these candidates. They try to fool the people with the farce of 'extremists and moderates'. The last time this gimmick was used, it ended with L.B. Johnson doing all the things that Goldwater talked about. The fact is, that the most honest capitalist election is at best an opportunity for the people to choose who will oppress and exploit them. Today, we don't even have that choice. The 'candidates' are hand picked behind closed doors and then presented to the people as a choice.

LA 100-66078

'It is not conceivable that a criminal ruling class that is the direct decedents of the slave masters would place in the hands of the people any meaningful weapon to use against them. The spokesmen for the ruling class tell us that the vote is a weapon in the hands of the people. They lie. Voting in present day America is a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class. Through an analysis of the vote, the officials are able to gauge the consciousness of the workers and plan accordingly. By giving the people the ballot, the ruling class hopes to make all social and class struggles revolve around the ballot box where they are sure to win. Just as life showed the people the real role of the cops, life is slowly showing the people the real role of the elections.

"The revisionist, so called 'Communist Party' of the USA has gone all out in the effort to aid the ruling class in the vote fraud. Just as they urged the people to vote for Johnson as the 'lesser evil', so now they support Brown. Facts are stubborn things - just as Johnson is the butcher of South East Asia, so Brown is the hangman of Watts. There is no lesser evil today. There is only the people against the giant monopoly capitalists and their filthy political representatives. The Communist Party, USA, has long ago proven itself to be traitor to the American and international revolutionary movement. Now, in addition to their crime of supporting L.B. Johnson for president, they are supporting Brown as 'more sensible and moderate'. The CPUSA is merely the loyal opposition of the imperialists inside the working class movement. The job of these phoney communists in this election is to drum up such fear of the fascist Regan, that the people will forget about the equally fascist Brown. The CPUSA tries hard to make it seem that the working class can make progress and social change at the polls. What the people need today is their liberation, and no people have ever voted their way to freedom. The ballot box is the bimmick to keep the workers involved in capitalist politics, it is the method of preventing the development of an independent party of the working class. The revisionist 'communists' by supporting and running candidates in these elections are continuing to carry out their sabotage from inside the working class movement.



LA 100-66078 .

"We are offered the ballot as an alternative for real struggle. The people understand that what is good for the ruling class is bad for the people. POC believes that this understanding must be applied to the elections. As we have in the past ten years, we condemn the elections as a fraud, and call upon the people 'Don't waste your ballot - Don't cast it'.

"We must be prepared for an intensification of fascist reaction when the elections are over. No matter which of the fascist twins win - it is clear that the murders and beatings will continue. The only vote that this ruling class understands is the detailed political organization of the workers in pursuit of a policy of open organized confrontation.

"DON'T VOTE - ORGANIZE

"(ISSUED BY THE PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. For further information write Vanguard, Box 72306, Watts Station, Los Angeles, Calif."

(3) PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)  
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-9 (10/7/66)

Source advised that [redacted] had been recently indicted by a Los Angeles County Grand Jury on a charge of criminal syndicalism. Source advised [redacted] had telephonically contacted STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on October 6, 1966, concerning CARMICHAEL's possible public appearance in Los Angeles to speak for the recently formed "Committee to Defend John Harris" (CDJH).

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LA T-10 (7/27/66)

Source advised that as of that date [redacted] [redacted] was a member of the Los Angeles Club, PLP.

LA 100-66078

LA T-11 (10/12/66)

Source advised he had learned that CARMICHAEL was coming to Los Angeles in the near future to make speeches in the Watts area. CARMICHAEL's expenses are to be paid by the CDJH, and funds raised by his speeches are to be divided equally between the CDJH and SNCC.

LA T-12 (10/10/66)

Source advised that at a meeting of the Negro Commission, SCDCP, in Los Angeles, the Vice-Chairman of the SCDCP stated that "old" criminal syndicalism laws, originally passed against the Communists, were being used to stop Negroes from speaking. He gave as examples the arrest of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the South and [redacted] in Los Angeles. He stated that since this was the case, the CP must back [redacted] in his court fight and must do everything to obtain the support of as many organizations as possible. The Vice-Chairman of the SCDCP stated further that the CP would work through the Southside Citizens Defense Committee (see Appendix) or through the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights (see Appendix) to help [redacted]. This meeting was held on October 6, 1966.

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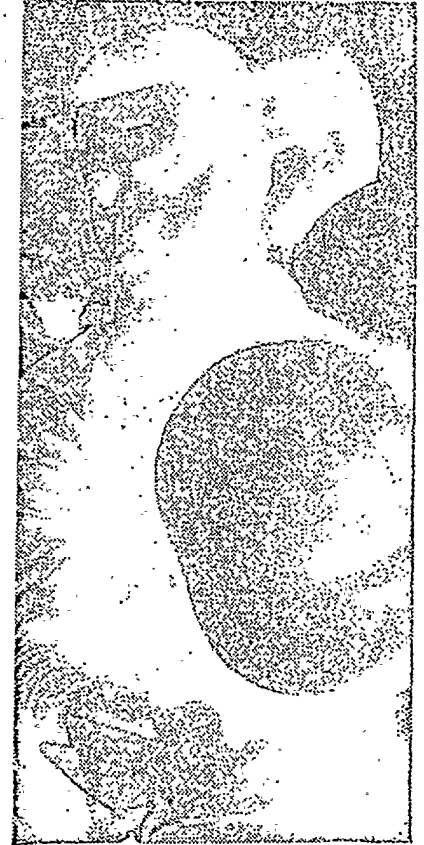
On October 12, 1966, a Special Agent of the FBI obtained a four-page PLP leaflet concerning [redacted] at a literature booth on the University of California at Los Angeles campus. A copy of this leaflet follows:

# SUPPORT BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES

*Defend John Harris . . .  
arrested for "criminal syndicalism"*

John Harris, Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts faces 1 to 14 years as a "criminal syndicalist". His crime -- passing out leaflets at the Deadwyler inquest pointing out that the cop who shot Deadwyler was a murderer and moreover denouncing the system that creates such a "legal" murder.

At 5:30 p.m. September 20, 1966, six plainclothesmen broke into the house where John Harris lives. Although claiming to have a warrant they refused to show it. They handcuffed John Harris and then ransacked the apartment throwing things around, ripping down pictures and causing other damage. They carried off boxes of personal property of the three people who live there as "evidence". They also took PL literature that was stored there. For example, they took 250 copies of the new PL magazine, copies of Spark and Free Student. They also took books and notes for classes, all this as "evidence".



## WHAT IS "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM?"

The criminal syndicalism law states that it is illegal to speak or leaflet so as to advocate "change in industrial ownership" or "effect political change" by so-called criminal means. A Grand Jury meeting secretly apparently decided this is what John was doing, and set the bail at \$15,000.

Criminal syndicalism is an anti-labor law passed in 1919 and was last used to convict farm labor organizers in the Sacramento Valley in 1937. The law is meant to deal with revolutionary socialists and is a candid reflection of the undemocratic essence of a class

divided society. Like the anti-riot portions of the proposed Civil Rights law, it is intended as a weapon against those who call for fundamental change. Such was John's offense. He questioned the "justice" of the Deadwyler hearing and advocated revolutionary solutions. In so doing he was in perfect tune with the mood of the black community of South Los Angeles. Clearly, a "criminal syndicalist" is someone who represents a view dangerous to America's rulers. ("You have your freedom until you need it," says Bertrand Russell.)

## WHO IS JOHN HARRIS?

John Harris was born and raised in Birmingham, Alabama, the son of a steelworker. From his earliest years, he was exposed to systematic racial oppression and injustice and he early determined to fight it. When in 1960 the freedom riders came to town he joined with them. Later in college he became chairman of the Howard University chapter of SNCC. In 1964 he left school to work in the South where he was project director for SNCC in Sunflower County, Mississippi -- stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan. There he was arrested and beaten by the cops and his home was attacked by the Klan. From his one and a half year's experience in Mississippi he concluded that more basic changes were necessary. He left the South and came to Los Angeles shortly after the Watts rebellion. Having seen the effects of the police riot and having heard about the systematic police murder of scores of black citizens, he decided to do political work in Watts. In December, 1965, impressed with the work of [ ] and the program of the Progressive Labor Party, he joined PL and became a revolutionary communist.

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## WHY THIS ARREST NOW?

In fact, they are arresting John to scare and terrorize PL members and others who protest conditions in the black ghetto. Although John is not guilty of any criminal or illegal act, he certainly is guilty of protesting the wretched living conditions in Watts. He has spoken and written about the fact that real income in Watts declined 8% since 1960 while rising in the rest of L.A. He has passed out leaflets which pointed out that in Watts is one of the biggest concentrations of industry -- yet black people living there aren't given jobs in these plants, and that there is 37% unemployment there. He has constantly



worked to expose the outrages of Yorty's brutal cops in Watts who constantly murder and maim black people, the Deadwyler case being only one example. He has publically denounced the war in Vietnam and urged his black brothers not to fight in that war. He has told them to oppose the draft and warmly supported such people as Richmond and Key who refused to be inducted on the grounds that they are a colonial minority and shouldn't fight the colonial master's dirty war against colored people of Southeast Asia. What is more, John has held classes which sought to get at the root cause of U.S. oppression both at home and abroad. He has not hesitated to name the real enemy, U.S. imperialism, and has stated unequivocally that imperialism in this country must be replaced by a socialist system. He has stated openly that he is a communist and proud of it. For this he was arrested on "criminal syndicalism".

## HARLEM - PHILADELPHIA - ATLANTA - LOS ANGELES -

In Harlem, late in 1964 [redacted] of Harlem PL, was indicted for "criminal anarchy" -- his crime - trying to organize a peaceful demonstration to protest the murder of black people during the "police riots" that summer. A year later he was found guilty; he is now out on \$25,000 appeal bond. This summer in Philadelphia, young SNCC workers were falsely charged with possessing dynamite and

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held on huge bail. Their crime -- organizing in the black community. Next it was the turn of the Atlanta cops who, after brutally suppressing a protest by black citizens of another police murder, arrested Stokely Carmichael for inciting to riot. His crime -- advancing the slogan black power. Now in Los Angeles John Harris is arrested for criminal syndicalism. Tomorrow, no doubt, it will be somebody in San Francisco. And the "crime" will again be the same -- organizing the black community around a militant program.

It is clear Johnson is ordering his local stooges to begin a nationwide round-up of all black militants who refuse to sell out, because rebellions in black ghettos are harming his war effort. Though the charges are serious and the bail huge, we declare that the real guilty ones are Johnson and company for pursuing the genocidal war against Vietnam; Yorty and the police who daily are brutally murdering and maiming black people; the General Motors and Goodyear plants in South L.A. who poison the air of Watts but refuse to hire its residents. We must expect that as we get more effective in our protests, repression such as this will get worse. But this won't stop us, on the contrary we will redouble our efforts!

### *WHAT CAN BE DONE?*

Politically, all honest people interested in building a truly just society must break from the "two party" farce conducted by the American ruling class. Work to free themselves and others from the illusions of this system. It was under this "lesser evil" Brown that this frame-up was concocted. Recognize that in the black ghettos the battle has already been joined. That the war against imperialism is a class war. The victory of the Vietnamese people and the struggles of all other colonial peoples is a part of our own crucial struggle against the "free enterprising" system of exploitation and war.

Finally: Support the program and work of John Harris and the Progressive Labor Party. Money is desperately needed.

Progressive Labor Party  
P. O. Box 19930  
Los Angeles 19, California

For information on PL forums and classes, write to the above address.

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LA 100-66078

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

LA T-13 (9/23/66)

A meeting of the South Central CP Club, Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP, was held at 5731 South St. Andrews Place, on September 14, 1966. A section report was given and during this report it was stated that the section wanted resolutions turned in for the coming SCDCP District Convention to be held on November 11, 1966. It was also stated that the CP would put a lot of work in the Negro community and a subcommittee on this work had been set up.

LA T-1 (10/26/66)  
LA T-14 (10/26/66)

The annual PW banquet was held on October 16, 1966, at 3400 Wilshire Boulevard. The banquet's theme was a salute to the Negro Freedom Movement. The chairman greeted the audience and saluted the Negro people. One of the speakers said he had great hopes to live in a more peaceful America and spoke of the need for black and white to integrate.

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of [redacted]. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

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On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under [redacted]'s leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 12, 1966, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

APPENDIX



APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,  
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for  
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for  
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born \*\*\*' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees \* \* \* constitute \* \* \* one organization within the meaning of the \* \* \* statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS  
 formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for  
 Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for  
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organizations \* \* \* was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party \* \* \* The local affiliates \* \* \* were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast Communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 4/25/66 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR  
A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 142-143.

1. Founded to be "a new Communist splinter group". The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party "also known as the POC \* \* \* was formed in August, 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who were dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the party and, while within it, had referred to themselves as the Marxist-Leninist Caucus."

"The leaders and participants in the Provisional Organizing Committee group had been expelled from the Communist Party on the technical charge of 'disruptive, factional, anti-party activities.'

"The POC group is composed largely of extreme left-wing elements from the Communist Party. Throughout the party's history, there have been contending right and left-wing factions which, in periods of turmoil such as the party has gone through in the recent past, have fought for control. The POC elements lost out in this recent struggle within the U.S. party \*\*\*."

"The one fact that is completely clear today is that the POC group is made up of hard-core, dedicated, and extremist Communists, who despite their present differences with the Communist Party leadership, are intent upon doing all within their power to speed the achievement of the goals of international communism."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1959, House Report 1251, February 8, 1960, pp. 69 and 70.)

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APPENDIX

SOUTH SIDE CITIZENS  
DEFENSE COMMITTEE (SSCDC)

On September 2, 1965, a source advised that [redacted] stated at a meeting of the Southern Californis District Communist Party (SCDCP) in August, 1965, that the Communist Party (CP) had set up the SSCDC to aid the Negro people and to pay for legal defense for those who needed it.

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A second source advised in November, 1965, that [redacted] was a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, and on November 10, 1965, was elected [redacted] of the Negro Commission, SCDCP.

On October 6, 1965, a third source advised that at a meeting of the SCDCP in October, 1965, it was reported that the SSCDC was to be operated by the Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP.

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the SSCDC is currently in existence.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Los Angeles, California  
January 30, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-66078

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [redacted]  
dated as above at Los Angeles.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



*Handwritten initials*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>1/26/67</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/13,16-20/67</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>se</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - C</b>	

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b7c

REFERENCE: Report of SA  dated 10/28/66 at San Francisco.

- p\* -

### ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished to New York, Office of Origin, and to other offices because of their interest in CP activities within the San Francisco Division as they relate to similar activity within their respective areas.

Pursuant to Bureau instruction, copies have been furnished to local intelligence agencies.

This report is classified confidential because data reported from SF T-1 through SF T-16 if disclosed could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

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SF 100-53902  
LHJ/sea

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to follow the activities of the CP and other subversive groups in racial matters and submit report on a quarterly basis.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[Redacted]

SF T-2 is

[Redacted]

SF T-3 is

[Redacted]

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SF T-4 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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SF T-7 is

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SF T-9 is

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SF T-10 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-11 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-12 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-13 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-14 is

[REDACTED]

San Jose, California  
(By Request)

SF T-15 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-16 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-53902-455

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Copy to: 2 - 115th MI Grp (RM)  
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Report of: 

Date: 1/26/67

b6  
b7cOffice: San Francisco,  
California

Field Office File #: 100-53902

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

## Synopsis:

The East Bay CP Industrial Club, Sonoma County CP Club, Northern California District Negro Commission, Fillmore CP Club of SF, San Jose CP Club, Northern California District CP all during the last three months of 1966 held meetings discussing the Negro situation and problems, plans and strategy, "Black Power." ROSCOE PROCTOR, member of National Committee, CP, USA, conducted several of these meetings. Press release issued by ALBERT J. LIMA, Chairman of the Northern California CP District, set out showing CP position on 9/66 racial disturbances in Hunters Point and Fillmore District. Need for a Negro discussion bulletin for a "Black Power" conference of the District CP discussed by CP leadership. Text of "Discussion Bulletin, Northern California District Communist Party," used at "Black Power" Conference in SF 12/16-17/66 on Negro matters set out. Need for a new Negro resolution of the Negro Commission, Northern California CP District urged by CP leaders. Research notes and conclusions on the "Black Power" slogan and concepts dated 12/66 set out in full. YSA in East Bay held meetings to hear tapes by MALCOLM X on "Black Power and Permanent Revolution." Alleged that members of DCA, Oakland Chapter, stimulated riot conditions in Oakland, California. NCCA HUAC opposed HUAC investigation in Negro uprisings. NCCPF B offered services for defense of rioters in Hunters Point and Fillmore areas of SF. San Mateo CP Club about 9/66 SF racial disturbances and views set forth. Also Miscellaneous Industrial CP Club of

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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SF held similar discussions. CP clubs in Sonoma and Marin Counties held discussions of infiltrating New Politics Committee. CP members have infiltrated CORE in San Jose, California, and CP members in SF working with CORE. [redacted] [redacted], CP member, is [redacted] of SACORE. Summary of remarks by STOKLEY CARMICHAEL at San Jose, California, 11/19/66 set forth.

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DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party (CP), USA

1. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at national meetings, including expressions by national leaders and other functionaries

No information received under this category.

2. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at district and lower level meetings, including expressions by local leaders and rank and file members

The East Bay CP Industrial Club held a meeting at 6547 Tremont Street, Oakland, California, on September 26, 1966. At this meeting an educational was given by CP member BOB KAUFMAN in which he told those present that he would discuss briefly with them the political structures of the civil rights movement of the Negro people. He asserted the powerful Negro people's movement as the most dominant domestic force in the nation and these developments create new opportunities and responsibilities for the CP. He stated the CP must be the vanguard to lead the Negro people away from oppression, such as police brutality, and assist them in gaining first-class citizenship and full employment. He said the Negro ghettos must be eliminated entirely from the scene and that Negroes must have the right to live in white neighborhoods and also to be respected by all the peoples, regardless of race, white or black. He said it was necessary for the Negro people to have progressive white people to cooperate with them fully so that the CP can lead the Negro people away from this capitalistic oppression.

SF T-1, 9/27/66

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A meeting of the Sonoma County CP Club was held at 420 West Railroad Avenue, Cotati, California, on October 19, 1966. The meeting was called to order by club [redacted] and he gave a report of a previous meeting of the District Committee of the Northern California District CP (NCDCP). He said that the Committee discussed "black power" and decided that a committee would be set up to draw up a resolution on "black power" for the District Committee. ROSCOE PROCTOR, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, was the guest speaker for the District Committee meeting. PROCTOR spoke on an article in "Political Affairs" magazine on "Black Power" written by JAMES JACKSON of the National Committee CP, USA. PROCTOR told those present that JACKSON did not go far enough in his article. PROCTOR stated that the CP had to take a deep look at "black power" in the U. S. and that a clear definition of "black power" must be determined since different people have different definitions for the term "black power." Member of the club [redacted] said he knew what "black power" meant to the Negro people and his definition was that they want 20 per cent of the political power in the U. S. ROSCOE PROCTOR said the District Committee would take up "black power" at a conference in December, 1966. ROSCOE PROCTOR was the speaker at the Sonoma County CP Club meeting as well as at the District meeting.

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SF T-2, 10/20/66  
SF T-3, 10/19/66

A meeting of the Negro Commission of the NCDCP was held in Oakland, California, at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR on November 9, 1966. The meeting was called to order by ROSCOE PROCTOR and he told those present that the District Committee of the CP wanted the Negro Commission to discuss "black power" and bring in a resolution to the District Committee meeting to be held in December, 1966. PROCTOR pointed out the guidelines for the resolution. He said the resolution should consider the Negroes' fight for freedom in the U. S. and this relationship with the war in Vietnam together with the inaction of the two major political parties in the U. S. as the basis for the resolution. [redacted] who attended the meeting, said the Negro working class is working for political life in jobs and is putting pressure on unions for jobs. He said this is the reason STOKELY CARMICHAEL had to come out with his "black power" program.

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PROCTOR stated that Negro CP members have got to start working with young people, church groups, and Negro labor workers, the unemployed, and welfare people. PROCTOR stated he would prepare an outline of what had been discussed at this meeting and send it to all members of the Negro Commission for their consideration in drawing up a Negro resolution.

SF T-3, 11/9/66

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Fillmore CP Club of San Francisco was held on November 29, 1966. The principal subject discussed at this meeting was the hiring situation of Negroes in the major hotels in San Francisco in light of recent developments when an arbitrator decided a dispute between the hotel operators and various unions in favor of the unions' complaint that the hiring agreement pertaining to minority races violated the bargaining agreement with the labor unions involved. It was decided that club members [redacted] and AL THIBODEAUX would talk to ALBERT J. LIMA, chairman of the NCD CP, and ARCHIE BROWN, former San Francisco County CP chairman, to find out what CP members should say to people in the community when talking on the above subject.

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SF T-4, 11/30/66

A meeting of the San Jose, California, Club of the CP was held on December 6, 1966, at 5 Laumer Avenue, San Jose. An announcement was made at this meeting that the NCD CP would hold a conference on December 16-17, 1966, in San Francisco to discuss the topic "Black Power and White Chauvinism." The educational at this meeting concerned a recent speech made in San Jose by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on "Black Power." It was the consensus of the members of the club that they did not agree with CARMICHAEL'S statements to any great degree. CARMICHAEL, according to those in the discussion, condemns the left but then makes socialistic statements and for this reason the club members did not agree with CARMICHAEL.

SF T-5, 12/12/66

A conference of the NCDPCP was held on December 16-17, 1966, at 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco. The subject of the conference was "Black Power and White Chauvinism." Representatives from the CP youth clubs in the Bay Area were present and there were CP members present from Los Angeles, California, and a group from Seattle, Washington. It was reported that approximately 100 persons attended this conference.

ROSCOE PROCTOR read a Negro Commission report and he told those present that he had been working with others on the Commission for three years on the problems of Negro rights and the subject had been discussed at the National Convention. PROCTOR read from a discussion bulletin on the subject of the Negro problem for approximately one hour. The discussion bulletin referred to is set out subsequently in this report. During the discussion, trade unions in general were vigorously condemned for not giving the Negroes chances they should have to join unions and secure employment.

One of the speakers at the meeting was BILL TAYLOR, a Negro CP functionary from Los Angeles, who spoke on "Black Power." He said the middle class Negro belongs to the "bribery class." He charged that the Negro can be bribed to do anything anyone wants. He charged that even after the riots in Watts and San Francisco promises were made to the Negro people, but he charged there is more unemployment among Negroes than before. TAYLOR stated the revolution in Russia was beaten down in 1905 but won out in 1917 because of the poverty issue.

SF T-5, 12/19/66

SF T-6, 12/20/66

3. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like as revealed in Party publications and other propaganda media, such as written directives, press releases, and the like

A meeting of club chairmen of the San Francisco County CP (SFCCP) was held at 241 Frederick Street, San Francisco, on October 10, 1966. At this meeting a press release of October 3, 1966, on the recent rioting in the latter part of September, 1966, in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas of San Francisco was given out. At the time.

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the press release was issued, club member [redacted] pointed out that the CP had no program in this area which would enable them to control the rioting in any way. He pointed out that all the programs which the CP had referred back to the Party program in the 1930's and 1940's and stated the CP had no up-to-date program for the Negro people. He pointed out that a program must be drawn up so that if such a situation as the San Francisco rioting came up in the future the CP could take control. [redacted] stated that the rioting was caused by police brutality and that the CP could not do anything on the subject because of lack of money and Negro organizational program. The press release handed out is as follows:

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"A 16-year-old boy was murdered for the crime of running away from a cop. The car he had run away from was reported stolen hours later. To the policeman, trained to put property rights above human rights, suspicion was justification for killing. Thus, his trigger finger set-off this outbreak of desperate protest.

"Now, as a result, our city has been painfully jolted into a new awareness of the living conditions which create 'riots' when triggered by police violence. This outbreak can be seen for what it really was: an upheaval against wanton murder and brutality, against poverty, joblessness, slum housing. It was a form of protest against the frustrations of apparent hopelessness, especially strong among the youth who are hardest hit - against the whole way of life this society has forced on the Negro people and other minorities.

"The local Power Structure - Business, City Hall, and the Police - bears the major responsibility for these riots'. In spite of repeated warnings of the pressure building up, they failed to act decisively. Instead they made feeble gestures, threw out a few crumbs, allowed cuts in the paltry 'War on Poverty' funds. Their application of 'footfield field' tactics, of mass



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police and troop violence against the communities where the outbreaks occurred only emphasized their previous failure. It is to the credit of the Negro people that their communities did not respond to such provocation with greater violence.

"In exposing the conditions which created them, these outbreaks should show to all that none of these conditions need to be. Our country could correct these conditions overnight if it truly dedicated itself to do so. If the money, poured by the billions into the unjust war in Viet Nam (\$2,000,000 a month), were used to abolish poverty and segregation in the United States, the conditions causing such 'riots' could be speedily corrected. Slums and slum living could be abolished for all, enough new jobs created to greatly increase employment where it is most needed. Schools, hospitals and recreation facilities could be improved, and the social atmosphere cleansed of the present air of violence.

"Instead our country has been following an opposite path which has made brutality part of national policy and behavior. The war against the people of Viet Nam is tied directly to the battle-grounds of San Francisco. Even the pitifully inadequate federal funds which were allocated for use in the 'War Against Poverty' and other social measures, have been slashed as a result of the war. As the war is continued and further 'escalated', still fewer funds will be available for a meaningful local social program.

"The lesson is clear. The war against the Vietnamese people must be ended. The funds released by ending the war must be used to wage a genuine 'War on Poverty' and liberate the people of our country from the intolerable conditions these upheavals have exposed.

"In the meantime the local Power Structure must be continually pressured forward on the path indicated toward an end of all racist policies and abolition of all forms of segregation

and discrimination. The ghetto conditions in Hunters Point, the Fillmore and Mission Districts, must be ended. The police department must be cleansed of racism, brutality and disregard for human life. The youth of our city must be given job opportunities and on-the-job training to meet their needs. Throughout the city the people should organize, demonstrate and protest to insure the carrying out of these demands.

"Communist Party of San Francisco  
Albert J. Lima  
942 Market Street  
San Francisco, California"

SF T-7, 10/11/66

A meeting was held between [redacted] of the SFCCP Committee and AL THIBODEAUX, CP member, on October 27, 1966, for the purpose of discussing CP activities on the Negro question. [redacted] stated when the first sessions of the District Convention were held, a Negro resolution was felt to be insufficient as proposed. He stated later at the National CP Convention, it was concluded the Negro resolution was not satisfactory and the CP was afraid "it was missing the ball on this problem." Therefore, it is necessary for the CP to start all over again on the Negro problem and what to do about it. He stated the CP needs to prepare a Negro resolution which is in tune with the times. [redacted] said to that end he was going to set up a meeting with members of the Negro Commission to discuss this matter and turn out a new resolution. He stated this is the most urgent question confronting the Party.

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SF T-4, 10/31/66

A pre-convention conference on civil rights was held at 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco, on December 16-17, 1966, to discuss "Black Power." At this conference ROSCOE PROCTOR passed out and discussed a discussion bulletin issued by the NCDPC, Issue 1, December, 1966, on Negro problems. The discussions bulletin is as follows:

SF T-7, 12/19/66

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

COMMUNIST PARTY

Number one

December 1966

The articles in this first issue of the Bulletin express the views of individual members and friends. They are presented in an attempt to vitalize and enrich the discussion around ideological concepts of our day.

The size, the content, and the success of the Bulletin depends entirely on you and your willingness to contribute your ideas and experiences.

Panel on Education

Northern California District

Communist Party

All contributions can be sent to the Education Panel, 1919 Oregon, Berkeley, California. This will be published on a monthly basis.

12/17/66

It is quite clear to the most casual observer that the Negro Freedom struggle in the United States today has found it necessary to look inward--to re-evaluate some of its earlier premises and concepts--to weigh its progress; how far it has gone, how far it has yet to go, and how it proposes to get there. It is viewing its current needs in relation to its long range goals.

In short: the movement is now at its crossroads.

It has been said and often repeated that it was the "Black Power" slogan and the varying interpretations of that concept which has given rise to this deep and fundamental re-examination.

For Marxists to really understand the essence of what is happening within the movement we must look beyond the mere slogan and examine the material and ideological conditions which make the slogan spread with such rapidity today.

Some of the questions which the Negro Commission suggest for study as a basis for discussion at our forthcoming conference on "Black Power" and white chauvinism are as follows:

- 1) What has been the extent of Negro migration in the past half century?
- 2) Are Negroes as a people progressing--economically, politically and socially--in America today?
- 3) Does the American melting-pot theory apply to Negroes, as it does to all other ethnic groups?

it does to all other ethnic groups?

4) Is there a growth in national consciousness among Negroes today.

5) Is there a difference between the civil rights coalition and the Negro revolution? If so, what are they?

6) What are the major issues around which differences exist within the movement today? Why?

7) Based upon your recent reading on the subject, how would you define the major components of the "Black Power" concept as projected by its leading advocates--is it proper that Marxists should support such concepts? (all of them? Some of them? Which ones?)

8) Is the 1959 Party position on Negro nationhood valid for today?

9) What should be the Negro peoples approach to coalition politics. The Labor movement--the poor--the peace movement.

10) What is the relationship between quality education and Negro freedom? How is quality education to be achieved?

11) How can the party program more effectively reflect the needs of the Negro people?

(a) What special steps can be taken to bring class understanding to the Negro movement.

(The following article was distributed by the Campus Chapter of the Communist Party the campus of the University of California during the "Black Power Conference" troubles.)

It has become increasingly, apparent during the past few weeks that there is a major problem of relations between white and black on this campus which deserves serious and immediate attention. Attitudes on the part of some surrounding the planning and promotion of the upcoming "Black Power Conference" have brought this university to a major crisis. This crisis is more important and more serious than any other political problem faced by activist students on the campus. This is, in fact, the most important question which faces this country today--the question of white supremacy.

We feel the time has come for all of us on this campus to take a critical approach to what we have been doing. The tragedy of the situation is that it took an abrupt and angry reaction from the few Negro students amongst us to bring the process of self-examination.

The starting point is the total society.

American society is racist. All our institutions economic political and social are permeated by deep-seated racism and attitudes of white supremacy.

It will, of course, be denied by some but those attitudes of white superiority are directly reflected in this university community.

community.

Look around. The scarcity of Negro students on this campus testifies to the truth of the above statement. Rising student expenses compound the many difficulties that a white supremacist society has put in the way of Negroes getting an education. The lack of Negro students here is a reflection of the dismal state of American education in general and the criminal state of education offered Negroes in the public schools.

This university demonstrates that in education, as in everything else, a Negro child is born into this world with an externally-imposed handicap and that very little is being done about it.

The removal, by Administration-directed police of 600 Oakland Negro children last week is only another shameless example of our common failure.

The attitudes of white supremacy in this society are reflected on this campus and infects everyone of us. We who choose to call ourselves radicals are no exception.

We have heard the expression of many attitudes during the week which clearly give indication of what the problem is. Try these:

- "We don't need local Negroes, we've got Stokely Carmichael."
- One radical to another--"It's too bad we're not black; we could really shake this state up."
- At one point it was suggested that if the Administration refused to allow the event on campus it would be held in the West Oakland Negro community. "They're more afraid of our having it in West Oakland than on the campus."

After all, Oakland hasn't had its riot yet." Further it was suggested that we threaten to hold the rally in the ghetto in order to scare the Administration into granting campus facilities.

When Negro children were turned away from the use of university facilities last week, one radical suggested to another that the students be led to a confrontation with the police in front of Wheeler Auditorium.

The essence of the notion 'Black Power,' is the necessity, ability and right of black people to decide and direct the affairs of their struggle for freedom. It is perhaps difficult to imagine white supremacy being reflected in the planning and execution of an event inspired by the slogan "Black Power," but that is precisely what has happened.

Students on this campus have contributed greatly to the civil rights movement in the Bay Area but such laurels as they are, are far from strong enough to rest upon.

One might call the present situation a crisis of confidence-- the deterioration of what tenuous confidence existed in the Negro community toward political activists on this campus.

Some of us in the radical community seem to think that, like the white power structure, we can decide which Negroes are worthy to participate in public life. Some of us feel no hesitation at deciding who "really" leads the Negro community; who are its legitimate spokesmen. Some of us take for granted that we know what it is that is important that whites know about the black community. Some of us insist upon treating the Negro community as a pawn, using the slogan "Black Power" to gain our own political ends.



ends.

Some of us refuse to believe that Negroes in this area know enough, are smart enough, are radical enough to tell us anything of value about the black community; only celebrities are worth listening to.

We are not directing these remarks equally at all those politically active on this campus; nor at any one sector, nor do we wholly exempt ourselves from criticism. Many of the people involved in the preparation of this event were motivated by a sincere desire to have a forum through which they could learn the meaning of the most important national movement of this century.

But, the most important problem on this campus is not the fact that people here do not understand the tactics and slogans of the Negro peoples' movement. Rather, the problem is the challenge of racism. That is the major question in this country, in this state, and in our community, and that's what we ought to be talking about.

We suggest that the organizers of the up-coming conference change the subject of the gathering and retitl e it: "Racism and its Challenges" and begin approaching the question through the front door. We expect that Stokely Carmichael and the other speakers would have something to say on the subject. The events this week prove that a lot needs to be said.

Campus Chapter, Communist Party.

Classical theoretical position and formulation of the Negro Question presented for your consideration.

The Party emphasizes that it is the special duty of whites to come forward as leaders in the fight against chauvinism. The white workers as part of the oppressing nation bear a special responsibility in the struggle against national oppression by its bourgeoisie; and the white Communists must be in the very forefront of this struggle as the vanguard of the working class.

The struggle against chauvinism is an absolute pre-condition to rebuilding the labor Negro alliance on a new basis, and this in turn is a pre-condition for a successful struggle against fascism, against imperialism, and for eventual socialism. The working class and progressive movements must learn to regard any act of chauvinism with the same loathing as any act of scabbing or informing--that is, as treachery to the working class, which, in fact, it is.

The wiping out of chauvinism is an indispensable part of the struggle of the working class to free itself from exploitation. This is stated by Karl Marx in a letter written on April 9, 1870. The letter stresses particularly the fact that the struggle against chauvinism is no act of humanitarianism, but a condition for the workers of the oppressing nation. A part of this letter follows:

"Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working-class population divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he (the English worker) feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker...

the Irish worker...

"This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. It is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite their organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power...

"Hence the task of the 'International' is everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. The special task on the Central Council in London is to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own emancipation."

(Selected Correspondence,  
pp. 289-290)

From "The Struggle Against White Chauvinism"- National Education  
Department CPUSA September 1949

When I was twenty, I worked with more than half Negro fellow workers, and chiefly had the experience of not knowing what color a person's skin was unless I stopped and thought about it.

Sometimes even then it took me a little time and effort to know. The fact that it had been otherwise before and became so again was undoubtedly the result of segregation.

Before that job, I could count on the fingers of one hand the number of Negroes I had any kind of acquaintance with. I had learned about slavery, emancipation, the Klam, life and lynchings in the South, and discrimination and segregation in the North. I shared my mother's indignation about the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon.

But the only kinds of discrimination and prejudice that had personal meaning to me were male superiority and the paternalism of adults toward children and youth.

I was aware of, and rejected, the prejudice of many in the intellectual community in which I had grown up against the uneducated. Most intellectuals who feel this are less capable of original thinking than people who never finished elementary school, and in fact their creative intellectual process has been choked off precisely by bourgeois class education.

I have had to fight in myself anti-Irish and anti-catholic prejudice. This grew first because of lack of association, second because of the domination of corrupt Irish politicians and reactionary Catholic ideology in many areas of my hometown life.

When I analyze my feelings today--and I am almost 45--I find that again I am often unaware of the color of people's skins unless I stop and think about it. This is undoubtedly because I live in an integrated neighborhood, my children go to integrated schools, and there are a good many adult Negroes among the people I see and work with.

work with.

I am glad of this because I think it shows that I have not been seriously damaged by prejudice. Occasionally I find it inconvenient because I forget at the same time the special conditioning that Negroes in the United States have had, which equips them to understand some of the things we talk about more readily than whites and others less, and which may encourage them to misinterpret some things I may say.

I have reactions of suppressed prejudice--uneasiness and distrust --with people who use foul language, also with girls whose hair is ratted and boys whose hair is long or otherwise unconventional. I had to sit down and think this out because I have this reaction to young Negro men whose hair styles are unfamiliar--but it is their hair, not the color of their skin, that I react to.

I have gotten to the age where it takes longer to become accustomed to changes of this sort.

I can also understand some of the fears of whites when they think about the riots. I can understand them because my children have white skins, they are influenced by their experiences, their friends, both Negro and white, their teachers, their friends' parents--including children in the schools and the neighborhood who use "Whitey" as a curse word.

We discuss Negro history with them, but I do not think it is possible for them fully to grasp the influences at work in the

minds of the Negro people, and especially the Negro children and youth, today. It is difficult for the Negro people themselves to analyze completely.

I share the concern of Negro mothers--I, too, do not want to see my children scarred, emotionally or physically, by the wanton hand of prejudice.

True, those who started this business of race prejudice were greedy whites, those who perpetuate it are greedy whites. But our common cause, in terms of every normal human need and aspiration, is with the oppressed of our land, black and white, yellow and brown.

We have nothing more in common with those who promote and profit from white supremacy than do the Negro people. I hope very deeply that my children will grow up to be fighters for full human rights for all human beings, regardless of color, sex or national origin; fighters for peace and socialism.

I hope they will not be accidentally hurt along the way by those who will someday be their comrades in arms.

About eight years ago an incident happened which was the reverse of white chauvinism--an uncalled for breach of comradely relations.

One of my children, who was then four, said to the white partner in a mixed marriage, "You are married to a black lady. You're not supposed to be." Or words to that effect.

If I had heard about this when it happened--and I was right in the same house when it happened--I could have found out the problem that was bothering my child and helped her to understand the world we live in then and there.

But the comrades whom my child had spoken to in this way didn't have enough confidence in my husband or myself to tell us the incident.

I heard about it months later, maybe even a year later, from someone else through party channels. I tried to bring it up with this child after I heard about it, but she had forgotten the incident and what brought it on.

Since she was inclined to be timid, subjective, and jealous of her brother and sister, I had the feeling that she would be hurt, ashamed and unable to see the objective matters involved, so I didn't force it.

I, too, was quite subjective then, so that in the long run my feelings were hurt by the serious lack of confidence these comrades had shown in me particularly, and also my husband.

If the same thing happened today I think I would raise a stink through Party channels.

The only conclusion I could draw was that these comrades must have had no political confidence in us whatsoever. Since I have very rarely been aware of any prejudiced reactions in myself, and have probed my mind deliberately to find them, and to the best of my knowledge had at that time been guilty only of being very shy and afraid of not being accepted by other people regardless of the color of their skins, I do not think I had done anything to offend these comrades or give them any false impressions, unless they misinterpreted my shyness which seems unlikely since I had been acquainted with them for years.

Whatever it was that brought that situation about, I want to make one point to all our Negro comrades. Please, comrades, with all the prejudice, all the innuendoes that are in the air we breathe, we white comrades need your help, and particularly where our children are involved.

If an adult makes a racist slander, that's one thing. If a small child makes a racist remark, please tell the child's parents when it happens! My child, who was ordinarily unusually considerate of other people's feelings, made that crack because someone outside the family had hurt her feelings. I could have helped her if I had been told about that when it happened.

My impression also is that the comrades involved must have brooded over this thing for months before they finally talked about it. They had the choice of thinking that my husband and I were white chauvinists or that some incident that we didn't know about had influenced our child. In either case it should have been brought



out immediately and openly--for the sake of the Party or for the sake of our child.

I ask all Negro and other minority comrades, please speak up. Give your white comrades the benefit of the doubt. If they don't deserve it, they should be exposed so that they can be handled politically. If they do deserve it, you'll be glad you did and they'll be especially glad you did!

In 1960 on the campus of Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a movement developed. The young Negro students began to mobilize and move in such mass that it alerted the Negro citizens of that state. The students moved in a direction of alleviating the segregated policies which existed.

Their voices were so loud in what they advocated that it struck fear into the president of the university. He closed down the school and kicked out the students.

What were these young people doing? They were organizing sit-in demonstrations in Baton Rouge proper against the Woolworth stores. They were carrying on activities against police brutality and trying to point out to the Negro people that there were ways to fight the power structure.

Out of this struggle grew the leaders for the movement, particularly at this time in Louisiana. The leaders came primarily from the city of New Orleans, and after being expelled from Southern University, they returned to their respective homes in New Orleans and mapped out the plans for a CORE chapter.

This specific chapter became a symbol for the Negro citizenry of New Orleans. An extensive program was written and realized in the form of sit-ins in public accommodations.

At this time the chapter's membership was black. They educated the Negro community to what was happening in one sit-in movement.

It wasn't until 1961 when CORE instituted the Freedom Rides into Mississippi, that the Negro chapter in New Orleans became integrated. With the integration, co-existence between white and black became more difficult.

Distrust developed and people in the movement realized many problems had been introduced into the organization. In spite of the realities of working together for a common struggle, the background and experiences were so different that it was hard to communicate

At the same time, plans evolved to register the Negro population.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK POWER

I. HISTORY

A. Early Beginnings

1. Southern University - Baton Rouge
  - a. Implications - Free speech
2. CORE - New Orleans
  - a. Implications - Public Accommodations
3. CORE - Louisiana
  - a. Voter Registration
  - b. Freedom Rides
4. CORE - Mississippi
  - a. white people
5. SNCC - Mississippi
  - a. Voter registration
  - b. Northerners
6. Existing groups: NAACP, SCLC, Church, school (colleges and universities), Urban League, Black Nationalists

B. Current Groups in the Movement

1. SNCC, SCLC, CORE, Deacons, Muslims, Freedom Democratic Party, Urban League, Afro-American Society, plus independent local groups.

II. Struggle

A. Psychologically--self concept, image

B. Materially--jobs, unions wages, boycotts

C. Socially

1. Conflict
2. Change
3. Result

- A. The problems that deal with chauvinism come about because of a lack of adequate definition.
- B. Lack of educational describing what is meant.
- C. Unnatural situations involving unaccustomed cultural groups.

A. Patronizing is another word for chauvinism. However it is something which whites do daily, either consciously or unconsciously. Failure to criticize Negro comrades when one believes them to be wrong is patronizing.

B. Very few people are aware of chauvinistic acts unless actually discriminating or prejudicial. Since unconscious or ignorant acts or statements are as chauvinistic, and are just as offensive or aggravating to amicable relationship in the Communist Party, then they must be continually pointed out in regular educational. Examples: Statements like "don't let them Jew you down" or "work like a Nigger" as well as not opening a car door for a Negro woman, are detrimental even though unconscious or habitually practiced.

Unless there is a conscious effort on all people to consider what is likely to be a chauvinistic act or statement, then there will be little change in minority members.

C. The setting in which these faux pas might be prevalent could be political but they are much more likely to take place in a relaxed, social atmosphere. For this reason the Party should maintain the political and minimize the social aspect of the different cultural groups until a better understanding is developed of each participating culture. Example: The idea of Black Power will not be acceptable to caucasians due to the chauvinistic unacceptance of the Negro dignity and black worth. Once this is understood, they will want for their minority brothers what they want for themselves; enough to fight for it. Seeing this alliance, the minority group can join and work for Communist Party goals, since these goals will coincide.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

A major task before the Party is to fully enter the struggle against discrimination in the hiring of Negro and other minority workers. This problem is basic to further progress in the struggle for Negro-white unity and of the building of the Negro-Labor alliance.

The struggle for Negro-white unity is the key towards making fundamental progress in this country. This question has been with us for years and our participation in working for a solution has been less than outstanding. But now developments in the burgeoning Negro freedom movement impels the labor movement to tackle this problem in a new and qualitatively different manner.

In recent months events have taken place that have jarred the establishment and the labor bureaucracy, and we must move into qualitatively increased action. Watts, Hunters Point, and the Oakland events (to say nothing of a dozen other cities in other states) means that there is something new.

The Negro people and particularly the Negro youth are on the move. Will this activity result in a "white backlash," with the racists being elected to office, etc. or will it result in a better understanding among white workers as to who is the real enemy? Will it result in a firmer Negro-white unity and a qualitatively different Negro-Labor alliance with labor entering the fight for jobs for Negroes and other minorities?

There are potentials for both of these developments with even both going on at the same time. Which trend will become and remain dominant depends to a large extent upon the Left and its adherents.

adherents.

HOW TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM

The resolution on Labor and Trade Union Problems (18th National Convention) contains all of the basic points upon which to base our discussion. The section dealing with Negro-white unity is particularly appropriate to our discussion. Therefore this section of the resolution needs to be read and studied. That section is as follows: (From the Labor resolution which starts on the next page)

(The following three paragraphs should be inserted at the top of page 4.)

The Trade Union Commission had a discussion on a specific development which followed in the aftermath of the San Francisco outbreaks of the Negro community against police violence.

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed an anti-bias hiring ordinance. This ordinance gave a city commission the authority to investigate any discrimination in hiring on city jobs and contracts, and certain powers to cancel contracts where such discrimination existed and persisted.

The only major group against this ordinance was the labor movement, with all segments acting collectively to defeat it. Although the ordinance was months in the making, the voting on it took place right after the Hunters Point event. The employers were in the happy position of putting the onus on labor and even Mayor Shelley made a speech in which he said that some unions had to give up old ways of thinking and open their unions to minorities

12/17/66

(Labor resolution continued)

Negro-white Unity

"Divide and conquer" remains a fundamental precept of Big Business in its dealings with the working class. Every conceivable method is used to pit workers against each other. Men against women, young against older, white-collar against blue-collar, skilled against less skilled, those working against those out of work. Even religion is brought into play, pitting Protestant against Catholic. Many workers have gotten a bitter dose of anti-Semitic poison from company spokesmen seeking to divert them in their struggles, by trying to place the blame for the evils of capitalism on the back of a religious minority.

The corporations have always used discrimination in hiring against Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and other minorities as a potent instrument to divide the working class. U.S. capitalism is responsible for saturating our entire society with racism to its great profit, for discrimination means lower wages and living standards.

Racist gangs such as the Klan and National States Rights Party concentrate their organizing activities among white workers in the more industrialized areas of the South, paper mill towns such as Bugaloosa, La.; the steel areas of Birmingham and Bessemer, Ala.; the textile centers in the Carolinas; Lockheed Aircraft at Atlanta, Ga.; Alcoa Aluminum at Marysville, Tenn.

In industrial border cities like Baltimore, and others further north, like Cleveland, hate groups have full-time organizers in the white working-class communities. In all areas, North and South, they play on the fear of economic insecurity among white workers. "The Negroes are after your jobs," is their common rallying cry.

The unity of Negro and white workers in the labor movement and a firm alliance between Labor and the Negro Freedom Movement are the keys to progress in our country. This is equally true in both the North and South. Without this unity, Labor can make no substantial gains organizationally, economically or politically. Without such unity, the Negro Freedom Movement is fatally handicapped in the fight to put a permanent end to the system of jim-crow.

But the deadly poison of white supremacy continues within the ranks of organized labor, affecting many white union officers and members alike. Some otherwise advanced white union leaders seriously lack an understanding of the Negro question.

Negro trade unionists find great difficulty in advancing to positions of leadership beyond the level of the local union even in unions where they are a significant section of the membership.

The efforts that so far have been made to open union rolls to skilled Negro workers, and apprenticeship training programs to Negro youths have produced pitifully poor results.

Some skilled building trades unions, North and South, are among the most guilty of either barring Negroes from membership altogether, or shunting them off into jim-crow locals, but they are not alone in the commission of this crime.



(Labor resolution continued)

White supremacy is a dangerous weapon in the hands of Big Business and its ultra-Right supporters. The Wallace campaign in the North gave evidence of this. Unchallenged, it is a time bomb in the ranks of the trade unions. Along with red-baiting, it is a cornerstone of every anti-union edifice.

In its own self-interest, the labor movement must ruthlessly root this malignancy out of the leadership, and take the fight against it into the local union halls and white working-class communities. Greater use must be made of the trade union press, particularly the regional journals and local papers, in the fight for Negro-white unity. Negro organizers must be given equal status with white, and every level of trade union leadership must reflect the growing number of Negro members in the ranks and among those to be organized.

The mutual self-interest of the Negro people and the working class, Negro and white, is strikingly exemplified in the many-sided struggles for full employment at decent wages. These are the basic ingredients of the real war on poverty. First and foremost is the fight for the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. The AFL-CIO, which up to now has not given serious attention to this demand, must lead and coordinate a mighty economic and political drive to bring it about. With the support of the Negro Freedom movement, a victory can be won which will open up a whole new field of job opportunities, counter unemployment induced by automation, and remove a potential source of conflict among the working class.

But the trade unions cannot expect the Negro people to join a struggle for jobs that are going to be filled on a discriminatory basis. As a part of the fight for jobs for all, the unions must vigorously campaign for an end to discrimination in hiring and promotion. They must initiate a demand for a faster rate of hiring and promotion of Negro workers on new jobs as well as replacements for openings created by the normal process of labor turnover--retirement, transfers, etc., as a necessary step to correct the imbalance brought on by generations of discrimination against Negro workers.

As the labor movement has taken up the fight to end the Southern differential, it must take up the fight to eliminate the differential between white workers and Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and other minorities.

The increased identification of the labor movement with the indigenous movements that are growing in various parts of the country, particularly in the field of civil rights, voter registration and poverty, is a healthy development. From these can grow political action alliances mutually beneficial to the organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed alike.

Negro-white working-class unity and a firm Negro-Labor alliance is an absolute prerequisite for ending the role of the South as a base of reaction, and bringing it into the 20th century.

A coordinated organizing drive, with the support of the Freedom movement, can bring hundreds of thousands of new workers into the labor movement, put an end to the Southern differential in wages, and remove the threat to the standards of workers in the rest of the country.

LABOR' POSITION

The statement made at the time of the Board hearing by Labor can be boiled down to the following: The Unions have always supported a fair employment program and "such a program should include specific plans for the development of additional jobs." Just the same Labor demands complete respect for its contracts and the rights of its members to employment under those contracts. Further that no public agency has the right to mediate or arbitrate such an agreement. That the Labor movement would consider any picketing and demonstrating activity which would try to effect the employment under contracts as anti-union. Nevertheless organized Labor stands for the fundamental goals of equal opportunity in employment. To the surprise of all, Harry Bridges, representing the I.L.W.U., spoke for this position.

A subsequent statement issued by [redacted] of the San Francisco Labor Council was much improved. This later statement reflected the pressure coming from within and outside of the unions. In this statement [redacted] said that the unions had always "been in favor of such legislation." (The ordinance.) He said there was a lot of talk and promises but so far no jobs. Further that Labor does not create jobs. (A point he and Bridges made at the time of the hearing.) Regulations and control over working people (as proposed in the Ordinance) "will not solve the problems of a shrinking job market..." He blamed the Redevelopment Agency for chasing small "blue collar job" firms out of the city with its fancy redevelopment. He called for (as a started) a project of slum clearance and industrial activization in a certain blighted area. He stated further that the job conditions and security of minority workers could only be protected by union contracts.

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... security of minority workers could only  
be protected by union contracts.

Some Analysis--Our v

In the above statements and actions around the ordinance we have before us all the problems posed at the beginning.

We start with the fact that we are concerned with the interests of the entire working class, organized and unorganized, youth and adults, men and women, Negro, Mexican-American, all minorities, as well as white. We know that unless there is the greatest unity of all sections, that labor will suffer. We know the key to moving the entire Labor movement forward is the breakthrough on jobs for minorities.

We look upon the organized section of the Labor movement as the strongest component of Labor. We want to do everything possible to strengthen that section and to counteract the attack being made upon it from a number of sources. Its weaknesses are plenty and must be corrected. But we must begin with the existing Labor movement. We recognize its weaknesses and drawbacks, not in order to become frustrated and paralyzed, but to help make changes. Here we are addressing ourselves primarily to make a change in the discriminatory hiring practices and helping to eradicate white chauvinism.

We must grasp the truth that the Labor movement does not create jobs. These can only come from the employers and their government. Therefore the major responsibility rests with the capitalist class. Further that discrimination in jobs is mainly the fault of the employers. If the employers wanted to, they could quickly change the situation.

The number of jobs are finally decided by the employers.. This is true since not more than 25% of the workers in this country are organized. ( some 36% in California.) All of the anti-poverty

money and related programs have resulted in pitiful few jobs, so the government also shares the blame for the lack of jobs.

Just the same in this particular situation some unions are guilty of rank discrimination. These unions hide behind the "sanctity" of union contracts, reminiscent of the excuse they use to cross each other's picket lines. The jobs created by the Bay Area Rapid Transit project shows just where the unions are to be held responsible.

The Negro Peoples organizations in the East Bay proposed some months ago that a number of Negro and other minority workers should be trained for such jobs. The Alameda Central Labor Council approved and a Skills Training Center was set up.

However, the Alameda Building Trades Council refused to participate, saying they had enough people to fill the jobs and did not want the crafts flooded. Therefore, as the jobs open up they are filled through the union (overwhelmingly white) and the Negro workers can't even qualify since they are not trained for the skill.

It so happens that for the past several months, work in the building trades has been the slowest for years. Halls are filled with unemployed men anxiously waiting for the BART jobs. Now we have a classical situation. Negro workers are incensed that they can't get a job even on a government project and white workers are led to believe that the Negroes and other minorities are out after their jobs. Negro-white unity suffers; antagonism against unions develops among the Negro people and an attentive ear is given by white workers to every racist slander.

to every racist slander.

The employers strategy is obvious: First raise the chauvinism of the whites--promote the "backlash." Then in good time put forth another proposition 18; this time it will be indeed difficult to convince the Negro and other minority peoples to vote against any anti-labor measure.

It is not without good cause that the Labor movement fears interference by the capitalist government. The Taft-Hartly and Landrum Griffin laws, the court injunctions and Presidential intercession are examples enough. Any weakening of their job security is indeed a danger.

To a large extent the I.L.W.U. was prompted to take the position it did because of their experience with being sued under the law. Had the case been decided against the Union it would have meant a drastic revision in the hiring hall practices and as every one knows the I.L.W.U. is integrated.

What the unions don't realize is that they are only laying the groundwork for more governmental interference by refusing to face up to and fight discrimination and white chauvinism in their own ranks. They have not absorbed the lessons of the South where wages and conditions are the worst in the country and in some places in the South it is worth an organizer's life if he tries to organize.

The unions don't face up to the fact that unemployment is three times the rate among Negro workers than among the white. The "great boom and prosperity" has by-passed the Negro and other minority workers.

The situation in summary: The capitalist class is primarily responsible for discrimination, poverty and unemployment. The unions are legitimately concerned about their hiring halls, job security and the danger of anti-labor governmental bodies. The Negro and other minority people are justified in their critical attitude toward the unions insofar that the unions practice discrimination and are riddled with white chauvinism.

Specifically the unions are guilty when they refuse to participate in training minority workers for skills and refuse to do anything about leveling off the disproportionate unemployment among minority workers.

It is well worthwhile at this point to recite certain facts. One: the Labor movement is not one solid racist group. There are splits about how to handle union discrimination, and there are a number of white unionists who work for integration. Two: historically the unions have played a leading progressive role in helping to establish the public school system and the breakthrough on organizing the unorganized, including million of minority workers, particularly in the 30's and 40's. They also fought for the unemployed at that time.

## Proposals

These are certainly not final, complete or listed in order of importance.

1. Wherever possible local unions, District Councils, and leading individuals in the unions should differentiate themselves from the official position taken at the Board of Supervisors. Even [ ] later statement should be criticized for failing to tackle those unions that discriminate and refuse to take in minority workers even on such tax paid jobs as BART.

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2. A many sided and imaginative educational program has to be urged upon the labor movement, directed toward combating white chauvinism and the danger of a right-wing being built within the Labor movement. The Left need to conduct its own educational campaign. Not least important is education within its own ranks on such questions as, how do you combat racism and chauvinism with your fellow workers and in the unions.

The Party should issue material for mailing and distribution, and the People's World should be urged to carry a series of articles with organized distribution to union members.

3. Groups, Alliances, Caususes. There were a variety of proposals under this heading made in the panel and board.

One proposal was to help revive and strengthen Negro Caususes in the unions on the basis they would fight from within against chauvinism, job discrimination.

For the most part the discussion called for finding in each situation a common ground that would advance the interests of both Negro and white workers. Example: the struggle against discrimination of older workers. The struggle for democracy within the unions would be strengthened with a fight against discrimination. There is generally a movement going on throughout the the Labor movement against the old guard, against the suppression of rank and file participants.

This is engendered by the effects of mechanization and automation. The Convention Trade Union Resolution discussed the question of rank and file groups and our approach toward them.



4. Fight for jobs: A massive program for jobs for all is the key demand. The unions would join in and could be persuaded to agree to no discrimination.

In this connection we should take a critical, but positive attitude toward the "Freedom Budget" recently launched by the A. Phillip Randolph Foundation. On the positive side it calls for billions of dollars for many public projects (Note: we should get the details).

Such a program is the kind needed to even begin to tackle the problem.

The weakness is that the foundation says the "Freedom Budget" can be financed even with the war going on in Vietnam. That means higher taxes on the people, and would result only in increasing the "white backlash" with the propaganda that the whites have to pay for "them."

We must fight for the rich being taxed for such a program, with the taxes coming from corporation and rich individual's profits. We must also expose the lie that "we can do both--guns and butter." It is very important that the Labor movement takes a lead in this fight.

5. Support to independent struggles of Negro people for jobs: We should help influence the direction of their blows against the ruling class and its government. In specific instances where there is discrimination by unions we should not hesitate to support the demand and pressure of Negro organizations upon the unions.

It is entirely possible that certain union headquarters and job sites will be picketed. We should be prepared for this eventuality, but at all times work for understanding and unity.

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The Negro Commission of the NCDPC in December, 1966, prepared a document entitled "Research Notes and Some Conclusions on the Black Power Slogan and Concepts". It was reported that this document was the basis of a discussion also at the "Black Power" Conference held December 16-17, 1966. This document is as follows:

SF T-5, 12/19/66  
SF T-8, 12/19/66

December 1966

NEGRO COMMISSION

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

OF

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Research notes and some conclusions on the  
"Black Power" slogan and concepts

The specific and historical conditions feeding the growth of black nationalism and cohesion among the Negro people are; the national liberation movements on a world scale which has had tremendous effects on the mood and psychology of the Negro people here at home; the tremendous population shifts which have taken place among the Negro masses; the failure of the nation to absorb them into the society as a whole--the breakdown of the melting pot theory when applied to the Negro people; the growing resistance of the trade unions to take Negro workers into the unions--include them into the various apprenticeship training programs; to combat inner union job discrimination around hiring procedures, and to elevate those already in the unions to positions of trade union leadership; the worsening conditions of the Negro masses (the policies and practices of the police and state apparatus toward the Negro masses; the breakdown of the old liberal-democratic-civil rights coalition.

When these developments are coupled with the beginning experiences in independent political action and new independent political forms through which this independent political action is beginning to express itself, we see that conditions are favorable for the further development of nationalism on the part of the American Negro people.

Here when we speak of nationalism we have in mind the growing national consciousness and cohesion on the part of the American Negro people and not the narrow, separatist nationalism of the black Muslim variety.

## Historical oscillations between integration and separation

Throughout the history of the Negro people in the U.S. they have oscillated between the tendency toward the status of separate nationhood and of integration into the institutions of the United States.

They have been particularly influenced in this respect by the rise and fall of democratic waves of development in the United States and the world.

The extreme oppression under which the great body of slaves in the Americas lived and the fact that they came originally from many different tribal backgrounds and localities and spoke widely varying languages held back their ideological national development for many decades.

The United States Revolution of 1776 awakened moving desires of winning their freedom which they undoubtedly connected with being integrated citizens of the new republic.

Instead of setting them free, the revolution fastened the shackles of slavery even more firmly in the south. Then one of the oscillations which has been characteristic of American Negro national development took place.

The first generation or so after the revolution the Negro people experienced strong nationalist tendencies. Freedmen built many Negro institutions that had distinct nationalistic tendencies; the Negro church, Negro press, and the Negro fraternal and insurance movements are examples. These institutions did not have marked integrationist tendencies.

From about 1830 on, the intensity of the pre-civil war struggles against slavery sharpened. The Negro people played a key part in the momentous struggle and the approaching war re-generated integrationist concepts.

These integrationist tendencies came to a head not only in the several constitutional amendments of the post-war time (especially the Negro vote), but particularly in the reconstruction governments that were organized in the South right after the war. These governments were organized on the basis of integration of the Negroes with Americans generally on the principal of political equality--the concept of social equality being but poorly developed.

In 1876 this experience with integration came to a sudden end with the Hayes-Tilden campaign. The forces of monopoly capital, convinced that they had a workable control over the plantation owners, cold-bloodedly sold out the Negro people. For the next half-century, the Negro people were subjected to the most barbarious and brutal jim-crow oppression of all time. It was the period of wide-spread lynchings and of all the most terrible features of the jim-crow system. With few exceptions the Negro people had to fight along. Hundreds of thousands fled to the North.

It was during this half-century that the Negro people, deeply persecuted, developed their sharpest tendencies of independent Negro nationalism.

Although many Negro leaders continued to be integrationists, the most definite national expression was the movement led by

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[redacted] For several years following 1916 the Universal Negro Improvement association had a profound grip on the Negro masses in the United States. Its plan for the Negro people was to migrate back to Africa. [redacted] claimed two million members.

Even Booker T. Washington, who has been deeply criticized for his toting attitude toward the white rulers, had much nationalism in his ideological make-up. He was the founder of the National Negro Business League with its program of building the Negro Bourgeoisie and Negro industry.

In the late 1920's the Communist Party adopted the theory that the Negro people in the South were a nation.

The New deal of 1930, the unionization of some two million Negro workers, the monumental interantional struggle against facism which culminated in the winning of World War ii, and the tremendous growth of Socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Asia in the post-war period were vast democratic movements that had a profound effect upon the Negro people. Following the second World War the Negro people again developed a strong trend toward integration with the dominant institutions of the United States.

This did not mean, however, that they were finished with nationalism, or that they would develop only those tendencies which would be moving in the direction of integration.

The strong affinity of the Negro people for the colonial people of the world, the need to stress the Negro problem in

every field (including trade-union leadership). The right of the Negro people to decent housing, to end discrimination in hiring, present problems which would have to be dealt with within the context of the special national oppression of the Negro people.

The American Negro's identification with black people throughout the world

The Negro liberation movement in the United States has drawn great strength, pride and confidence from the national liberation movements throughout the world.

In half a century, the political face of our planet has changed fundamentally. This is the century of revolutionary upheaval and liberation of the working people--colonial emancipation is coming into its own.

In Asia the colonial system began to disintegrate immediately after the second world war.

"Africa Enflamed," "Liberation Hurricane Sweeps Africa," "Africa Smashes the Chains of Colonialism" were the newspaper headlines in the 1950's. These were the years of unprecedented upsurge in the national liberation movement. In the five years ending 1960 twenty-two independent African states had come into existence. Two more--Sierra Leone and Tanganyika acquired political independence in 1961; Algeria, Uganda, Ruanda, and Uganda by the end of 1962; and Kenya and Zanzibar by the end of 1963.



The struggles of these colored people has had a profound effect upon the struggles and the experiences of the Negro oppressed in the United States. A great deal of pride has been drawn from the fact that these new nations of color have gained their independence and are now participating in the world organization--the United Nations.

American Negroes take pride and dignity from the fact that colored people are governing themselves and are representatives of states. Almost all of the major civil rights leaders have had an opportunity to visit and to talk with leading spokesmen for the colored people throughout the world. Where they meet each other as brothers, as colored people of the world who have a great deal in common as formerly and currently oppressed people, they speak in terms of the common oppression and the common identity of black people throughout the world. There exists among them close feelings of kinship.

### Negro Migration

Negro migration from the south started before the end of the 19th century and took on vast proportions during the war decades. There was a decline in the rate of flow during the 1930's but even the heavy unemployment rate of that period failed to check the Northward movement.

Prior to the first world war, Negroes in the U.S. were overwhelmingly a southern peasantry. As late as 1910, the census figures showed that some 80 per cent of the total Negro population was in the South--ninety per cent lived in rural areas.

The push was provided by an increase in productivity in agriculture owing to mechanization, more intensive methods of cultivation.

As a consequence, demand for farm labor lagged behind' increasin agricultural output. It had reached its peak in 1910.

Faced with declining demand for farm labor, farm laborers naturally looked cityward for the opportunity to earn a livelihood. Most of the immigrants from the South settled in Northern cities, but within the South itself there has been steady migration from country to city.

Negroes now form a substantial section of the urban working class. The three to one rural-urban ratio of 1910 has almost been exactly reversed. Today three out of four Negroes live in cities--approximately one out of two live in Northern cities. Eleven metropolitan areas have Negro populations between 200,000 and one million.

Population experts predict that by 1980, Afro Americans will constitute the majority in fifty of the nation's largest cities. In Washington D.C. and Newark, New Jersey, Afro-Americans are already a majority. In Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, and St. Louis, they are one third or more of the population. In a number of others such as Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Oakland they constitute well over one-fourth of the population. There are more Afro-Americans in New York City than in the entire state of Mississippi.

Even where Negroes are not yet a majority as in Detroit and Oakland, their children now are well over fifty per cent of the school population. It is in the urban ghetto that Negro history will be made in the foreseeable future.

## Melting Pot theory breaks down

Earlier immigrant groups coming from Europe to the United States and settling in the cities were able to start their climb up the economic ladder through the labor unions, public schools and control of political organizations.

Expansion in the total economy made room for them above and others were ready to take their place at the bottom.

Few Negroes have been able to follow in the footsteps of earlier European immigrant groups. They have been forced to remain at the bottom of the economic ladder; there is neither room above nor anyone ready to take their place below. The civil rights revolution and its resulting reforms did help a few individuals, but did not advance the group.

The only rise in living standards for the mass of Negroes came as a result of the migration from the bottom of the Southern agricultural ladder to the bottom of the urban industrial ladder. Circumstances of the Negro workers relative to the white workers has grown worse. The Negro has borne the brunt of the deterioration of the services and facilities of the city--employment housing, transportation, health, education, police protection.

### Employment

Roughly 15 years ago the number of unskilled jobs were stable and Negroes were able to hold their own in the total employment picture by replacing white workers who were moving up the economic ladder. As unskilled jobs and semi-skilled jobs are eliminated by mechanization, automation, and cybernation,

Negro workers are being disproportionately hard hit.

Unskilled labor declined from 36% of the working force in 1910 to 20% in 1950, then dropped suddenly to 5% in 1960. This trend affects Negroes more than any other group, and since many authorities think that this technological revolution is in its early stages, the job situation among Negroes is likely to go on deteriorating.

The only jobs which will increase, and in which Negroes now dominate, are jobs such as servants, waitresses, cooks--the traditional service jobs which have added to the Negroes sense of inferiority.

As requirements for skilled jobs grows stiffer and as semi-skilled jobs decline, Negroes will face competition from whites to hold even these marginal jobs.

The median income of the Negro family is only 50 per cent of the white, and in the last ten years the Negro position relative to the white has declined--Negro masses today are in worse economic shape; live in worse slums and attend more highly segregated schools than in 1954.

More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954. The gap between the wages of the Negro worker and the white worker is wider. While unemployment among white youth is decreasing, the rate among Negro youth has increased to 32%. Among young men--18 to 24--the national rate is five times as high for Negroes as for whites, and among Negro girls the rise is even more startling.

The restless, brooding young men without jobs who cluster in the bars in the winter and on the stoops and corners in the summer are the stuff out of which riots are made. The solution to riots lies in finding jobs for the unemployed and in raising the social and economic status of the entire Negro community.

In the South, which has for years been dependent on cheap black labor, the trend has been most vicious. Negro tenant and sharecroppers have been displaced by machinery and are now seasonal workers or migrants. Since 1957 the demand for agricultural labor in the south has dropped by 48%.

In the future the need for agricultural labor will continue to decline, and while this paper does not attempt to propose any solutions to the problems of the landless farmers in the South it is certainly a question which we have to address ourselves in the near future.

### Housing

Another important aspect of the social and economic problems facing the Northern urban ghettos is the fact that all are crowded and poor.

Harlem houses 232,000 people within 3 and 1/2 square miles. There are more than 100 people per acre. Ninety per cent of the 87,000 residential buildings are more than 33 years old--nearly half were built before 1900.

Buildings were sponsored by private money and the condition of the new buildings is classified as poor. Eleven per cent are classified as dilapidated by the 1960 census--they

do not provide safe and adequate shelter. Thirty-three per cent are classified as deteriorated--they need more repair than would be provided in the course of normal maintenance. There are more people in fewer rooms than elsewhere in the city and the rent per room is often higher in Harlem than for better equipped buildings downtown.

The effects of overcrowded, unsafe, and deteriorating housing upon physical health are well documented.

#### On Schools

Sixty-five per cent of all first grade Negro students in this country attend schools which are from 90 to 100 per cent black. As estimated 88 to 90 per cent of the Negro pupils in the Southern states are still in totally segregated schools.

Negro children in ghetto schools tend to lose ground in I.Q. as they proceed through the schools and to fall further and further behind the standards for their grade level in academic performance. Today about 55% of Negro youth between 18 to 25 years of age are school drop-outs.

Schools in the ghettos have lost faith in the ability of their students to learn--and the ghetto has lost faith in the schools to lead and to teach.

A three year study recently concluded by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency decided that "in most cases (the) study showed that various aspects of the school system itself, rather than any qualities inherent in the students, were the chief factors causing students to leave high school."

The report also showed that "the American high school tends to be a white, middle class institution loaded against the Negro working-class pupil."

The study focused on Ann Arbor high school and four other unidentified Michigan schools "because they are exemplary of the national norm, rather than exceptions to the rule."

Immediate and total integration of the schools is not possible in cities with large and growing Negro population. As middle class whites desert the cities and the public schools, the quality of the schools does decline. Not because Negroes are inferior, but because the school system behaves as though they are.

White middle-class parents will not endure reversed bussing—that is, the transport of their children into the ghetto schools which Negroes themselves have said for years are inferior.

Desegregation of urban ghetto public schools will occur only if all of the schools in a district are raised to the highest standards so that the quality of education does not vary as to the income or social status of the neighborhood.

And so Negroes are pushed even further down in the social structure and locked into the ghettos.

It has often been said that in the urban ghettos policemen are regarded as occupation soldiers of an unsympathetic colonial government. For anyone who has ever had an opportunity to observe the behavior of cops operating in the black ghettos and to see young Negro militants (both male and female) in their fearless, defiant attitudes will agree that this is a fairly accurate description of the relations.

In each case where uprisings have taken place in the black ghettos the pattern has been the same: An incident involving police harassment, brutality or shooting--street fighting between Negroes and white policemen; bottles, bricks, and Molotov cocktails--smashing of plate glass windows and looting--more cops and finally the National Guard to put down the uprising.

The brutality and the troops feeds the growth of black nationalism and is a factor in uniting the black people in the United States. The failure of state and federal governments to protect the Negro citizens in the exercise of their civil and constitutional rights and the United States racist policies involving Negro youth in the military services and in foreign aggression again adds fuel to the fire of black nationalism.

Relative improvement in conditions of Negro middle-class and effects of tokenism.

The deterioration in the living conditions among the Negro people is only true of the Negro masses. The Negro middle class on the whole is doing very well. This group has, if anything a preferred position in the job market. U.S. imperialism has rather sharply raised the demand for this group. As I.F. Stone put it, one would be hard put to describe a person with better job opportunities than a newly minted Negro Ph.D.



Business and industry, in the face of the civil rights revolution, have been reassessing their employment policies and hiring Negroes for offices and other salaried positions that they rarely held before. The same thing has been happening in government. Negroes are increasingly being placed in high-paying jobs that are near the cabinet level in government--Federal judgeships and the like.

The growth of the black bourgeoisie has been marked since the second world war. Between 1950 and 1960 the proportion of non-white families with income over \$10,000 increased from 1% to 4.7%--a rate of growth close to three times that of whites.

The success of the civil rights movement and tokenism has deepened the gap between the Negro middle- and upper-classes and the Negro masses. As middle class Negroes are brought into the economic and political power structure they also become more acceptable in the middle- and upper-class suburbs.

This difference in class background and economic opportunities could very well account for some of the stresses and strains which now exist within the civil rights movement.

The black bourgeoisie has a material stake in the existing social order, but its loyalty is still doubtful because of the special disabilities imposed solely because of color.

If this loyalty can be secured the potential revolutionizing of the Negro protest movement can be forestalled through the placing of loyal Negroes in prominent positions.

The fact that the great mass of Negroes derives no benefit from tokenism does not mean that they are unaffected by it. One of the purposes of tokenism, and, to the extent that it succeeds, one of its consequences is to detach the ablest young men and women from their own people and thus to deprive the liberation movement of its best leadership material.

Even those who have no stake in the system and no hope of acquiring, may become reconciled to it if they come to believe there is a chance that their children or even their children's children may be able to rise out of their own degraded conditions.

Sigma Pi Phi, founded in Philadelphia in 1904, reflects most clearly the class distinction among the Negro people. E. Franklin Frazier in Black Bourgeoisie said, "It has become one of main expressions of social snobbishness on the part of the black bourgeoisie."

The fraternity provides no program of action, but it does provide a sense of belonging for its members. An important aspect of the organization's value is said to be that Negroes could enjoy friendship with persons of similar status without needing to be reminded continually of the every day problems of being a Negro.

## The break-up of the old Democratic Party-Labor-Liberal Coalition

From the time of the Abolitionist Movement to World War II, civil rights remained the cause of a small, predominantly white reformist group whose influence was more a matter of persuasion than political power.

What changed civil rights almost overnight from a peripheral moral issue to a major domestic movement was the emergence of the Negroes themselves as a nationwide bloc.

Since World War II our domestic policies have been dominated by two political forces--the civil rights coalition and the Negro revolution.

Often these two movements have been so entwined as to be almost indistinguishable. They are often lumped together under the term "civil rights movement" when they are, in fact, distinct movements with different histories, constituencies, and goals.

The civil rights movement has been essentially concerned with the structure of law and social justice. Its goal has been to bring the legal and formal institutional structure of American society into closer conformity with constitutional principles. The civil rights coalition believes that what is good for democracy is good for the Negro and the Negro revolution believes that what is good for the Negro is good for democracy.

The supporters of the Negro movement and the supporters of the civil rights movement were not consistently divided along color lines. The foremost advocates of the strategy which bases the Negro future largely on the fulfillment of constitutional principles has been the Negro civil rights agencies. In recent years the Negro has furnished much of the political muscle

of the civil rights movement, but this had not radically changed the character of the civil rights movement. It was an alliance of the forces of labor, humanism, religious radicalism, and political liberalism and was dominated by a liberal political philosophy.

The civil rights movement caught the imagination of the politically starved youth of the late 1950's and early 1960's. It offered excitement, a break with the past, and a practical outlet for social idealism. To fair-minded adults it promised a long overdue correction of chronic injustice. For the indifferent, the opportunists, and the hostile it commanded political respect.

The civil rights coalition can point to some radical changes in the formal structure of American society--the reconstruction of the legal basis of civil rights; the fixing of federal responsibility to intervene where possible to enforce civil rights; and the establishment of equality before the law as the public policy of the nation.

Conflicts between the white liberals and the Negroes began when the militant direct action tactics (mass demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts) were exported to the North.

Such tactics seemed suitable to conditions in the South but black militancy in general was a new experience for the white man. Some white liberal groups, the unions and the churches for example, had their own traditions of militancy and could understand what the Negro was doing; but the issue of aggressive tactics more and more distinguished whites from blacks within the civil rights coalition and militant Negro leadership.

coalition and militant Negro leadership.

The Negro's demand for special consideration was another source of tension. While the white coalition thought it was correcting an injustice by repairing the New Deal's failure to take in the Negro, the Negro himself found that the problem of unemployment had grown so serious that it could no longer be dealt with by the normal process of non-discrimination. The Negro demand for compensatory hiring and preferential treatment that was formulated to meet this situation turned out to be totally unacceptable to the liberals for it conflicted with the traditional liberal idea of equal opportunity and equal treatment of people according to their individual merits.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz announced that the government, in a complete reversal of its earlier practice was requiring information as to race on all its job applications.

Negro group pressure for jobs had countermanded one of the earlier achievements of the liberal coalition that had eliminated all reference to race and religion from the formal hiring procedure --an achievement which was once counted as a great victory for the forces of non-discrimination.

The Negro militant tends to see the present civil rights gains as the political patronage doled out to upper-class Negroes mortgaged to the Johnson administration.

The old coalition's program seems to have been achieved. Virtually everything that was seen by the liberals as legal civil rights has either been granted or has been accepted in principle. The civil rights coalition is being broken up and its place is being taken by a new force in American life--the Negro movement.

The liberal berates the Negro militant whose aggressiveness he blames for the weakening of the coalition when, in fact, that coalition is dying from having performed his action.

Equality of opportunity has had little effect upon the segregated lives of the vast majority of Negroes who are still forced to live in the ghetto. The great majority of ghetto dwellers are daily witnesses to the capacity of the ghetto to replenish itself at its core more rapidly than it can be skimmed off at the periphery by those few Negroes who fight their way to its outer edge.

No strategy can be regarded as realistic unless it recognizes that whatever additional gains the Negro can hope to achieve through the civil rights movement are not likely to help his economic predicament or radically reduce the overwhelming effect of the ghetto upon his life.

Until recently the liberal philosophy of the civil rights agencies provided the sole strategy for the Negro cause. Today the disillusionment with the liberal ideal of a color-blind society is strengthening the forces that are for a color conscious Negro movement.

This dilemma cannot be escaped by blaming Negro militants for alienating white supporters through their anti-white rhetoric. Even if every Negro in America daily professed his great love for whites the coalition would still be breaking up because it has fulfilled so much of the civil rights program which brought it together and because it has no program by which it can deal with the economic plight of the Negro masses. The answer lies in a new coalition program, organized around the cities, as that of the old coalition was organized around the Federal government.

coalition program, organized around the cities, as that of the old coalition was organized around the Federal government.

The liberals played a strategic role in uniting diverse groups in the New Deal coalitions which initiated the reforms of the last thirty-five years. At present the liberals are failing to perform a similar role in uniting the groups that comprise the cities.

For a more detailed treatment of the conflict of aims, goals, and interest, etc. of the civil rights coalition and Negro revolution see the last chapter of L. Bennett, Jr.'s book, Confrontation, Black and White.

He details the changing demands and goals which emerged within the movement with the advent of the sit-ins.

- How dissatisfied liberals became (both black and white) as the black masses began to participate.
- How strings were pulled and funds were manipulated to tone the movement down and to maintain liberals in leadership and control.
- Even how legitimate civil rights actions were turned into shams solely in order to placate the Negro masses.

A combination of all of these factors have in the recent past and will continue to feed the growth of national consciousness and identity among the oppressed Negro people. Likewise the early black nationalist groups, the best known of which is the so-called Black Muslims, and figures like the late Malcolm X have also influenced the Negroes perceptibly. The black nationalist views the Negro as somebody and that his salvation depends upon the proud acceptance of his own blackness.

During the last years and months before his untimely assassination, Malcolm X had a tremendous influence on the black community especially the younger people. Malcolm X expressed the need for militancy and unity in the community; he directed attention to the poorest and most oppressed section of the black community. He was the first since the late Dr. DuBois to establish direct links with the new nations and movements in Africa. I believe a new analysis of his role and impact on the community is in order.

### BLACK POWER

The following concepts defining the meaning of Black Power represent trends which have been developing over a period of years. They are the products of experiences in deeply racist areas. The increasingly close identification of SNCC and CORE with the poor and disinherited of the entire country began when SNCC moved from the campus to community organizing in 1961; and began to work with people who were very poor and very hungry.

### Black Power--its approach to integration

Integration, color-blindness, is ultimately valid but we have to come to realize that we must live here and now. Integration is a subterfuge for white supremacy. No American social institution is truly color-blind. To be color-blind in a society where race is relevant is not to be free, but to be insensitive.

The cult of color-blindness is not only irrelevant, but seriously flawed. America couldn't simply be color-blind, it would have to become color-blind, and it would only become color-blind when we gave up our color. The white man, who presumably has no color would only have to give up his prejudices, we would have to give up our identity.



Thus we would usher in the great day with an act of complete self-denial and self-abasement. We would believe equality by conceding racism's charge that our skin is an affliction; that our history is one long humiliation; that we are empty of distinctive traditions and any legitimate source of pride. We would cease to use the word "we" for we would concede that there is no "we" which can meaningfully refer to Negroes.

All this we were asked to do, and asked ourselves to do, at the very moment the movement was teaching us to love ourselves and making the name Negro a name to conjure with.

In the movement for equal rights we discovered a history-- had not the slaves rebelled tirelessly against their former slave masters as we now rebelled? Suddenly we found heroes from our own past--Gabriel Prosser, Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Harriet Tubman, Charles L. Redman, Sojourner Truth, Samuel E. Carnis, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois.

Integration as presently defined heightens the sense of inferiority of black people. Integration speaks not at all to the problems of poverty, only to the problem of blackness. Integration today means that the black man who makes it leaves his black brother behind in the ghetto as fast as his new sports car will take him.

The integration which would end in assimilation has never been the prime goal of the masses. Historically it has been the goal of the middle class which has dreamed of a total integration. The Negro masses could not care less about integration and could not afford it even if they did care.

Integration, moreover, speaks to the problem of blackness in a despicable way. As a goal it has been based on the complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education blacks must move into a white neighborhood and send their children to a white school. This reinforces among both black and white the idea that white is automatically better and black is by definition inferior. Black people must have power to control their own school boards. In this case then, Negroes become equal in a way that means something and integration ceases to become a one-way street.

Only when the Negro community can muster enough political, economic, and professional strength to compete on somewhat equal terms will Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept its necessity.

For integration, the Negro community needs to develop greater independence--a chance to run its own affairs and not to cave in whenever "the man" barks. If the black community succeeds in winning these rights it will respect and trust itself. But it cannot win the rights to human dignity without the ability to respect and cherish its own humanity.

Black Power--its approach to political action, community development, and pride in blackness

"Black Power" sometimes used interchangeably with "Black Consciousness" is a slogan; a political and a psychological technique for reaching and drawing together the most powerless group in America--the Negro poor.

Black Power is an attack upon the civil rights agencies whose solution of the race problem pre-supposes the disappearance of the ghetto but prescribes for this herculean task nothing more than equality of opportunity, and the one-by-one absorption of deserving Negroes into white society.

Black Consciousness places less stress on moving into white neighborhoods and putting more creative energy into changing the black ghettos from citadels of despair into monuments of hope. It means that all of the Harlems of the United States should be in the hands of the Harlemites--to create black politicians answerable to black constituencies and not to the white power structure downtown. Black Power is a black declaration of independence.

In such areas as Lowdnes where black men have a majority they will attempt to use it to exercise control. Where Negroes lack a majority, Black Power means proper representation and the sharing of control.

In Alabama, for example, Black Power will mean that if a Negro is elected sheriff he can end police brutality. If a black man is elected tax assessor he can collect and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools serving black people, thus advancing the move from political power into the economic arena.

Politically Black Power means what it has always meant-- the coming together of black people to elect representatives and to force those representatives to speak to their needs. It does not mean merely putting black faces into office.

Black power is the means for black poor to get together, define their needs in the interest of the total black community

Party, the Negro middle class, or the individuals designated to represent the black community.

Black people should be represented in places of power by people from the slums and cottonfields as well as members of the Negro middle-class. What is proposed is a new social field in which the black community would be the focus of black power, and which all individuals claiming to represent that community would have to seek their mandate from and recognize their dependence on the power bloc inside that community.

Today the political control of every ghetto is outside the ghetto. Black Power invites the black people to assume autonomy in the black community.

It means the creation of a power base from which black people can change statewide or nationwide patterns of oppression from pressure through strength instead of weakness. Carmichael says that one of the tragedies in the struggle against racism is that up to now there have been no national organizations that could speak to the growing militance of young, black people in the urban ghettos.

In some places such as Alabama, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey independent organizing under the Black Panther symbol is in progress. The creation of a national Black Panther Party and the idea of independent political parties is sure to spread--both through the black belt areas of the South and the ghettos of the North.

Black Power means organizing black people so that they can have power commensurate with their numbers in their communities, states, and will wield power in the national government similar to what other groups have done and are presently doing.

what other groups have done and are presently doing:

### Black Leadership

The need for psychological equality is the reason why SNCC today believes that blacks must organize in the black community. Only black people can convey the revolutionary idea that black people are able to do things themselves. Only they can help create in the community an aroused and continuing black consciousness that will provide the basis for political strength. Black people must do things themselves. They must get poverty money that they will control and spend themselves. They must conduct tutorial programs themselves so that black children can identify with black people. This is one reason why Africa has such importance. The reality of black men who are leaders in their own nations give blacks everywhere a sense of possibility of power which they do not now have.

As long as white people are there doing the work, the idea is perpetuated that only white people can do things.

Negroes now are insisting on being their own spokesmen to white people in the movement. Black Power is saying that instead of giving their time and energy and maybe their lives in the Negro community, it is now time and long overdue that whites turn to the essential task of working in the white community. It is there, SNCC points out, that the basic problem in race relations in America exists because the basic problem is white racism. It is not the black people who care, to attack that racism in its home ground, combating it and organizing white people in their community, labor unions, churches, etc.

Young Negroes learning to run their own show with white men supporting rather than dominating. The various organizations should be interpreted as a sign of maturity.

Black Power is an attempt to instill pride in black Americans. One of the main tasks of Black Consciousness is to affirm the beauty of blackness. It sees beauty in black skin, and thick lips and broad nostrils, and kinky hair. It rids our vocabulary of "good hair", "high yellow", and our medicine cabinets of bleaching cream.

SNCC is saying to Negroes that they must eliminate from their thinking and feeling the patterns put there by a society that is essentially built on the concept of the superior origin of the white man. It is saying that Negroes need to reject the unconscious idea that what is white is better and because they do live in a society that holds that idea they will only begin to think and feel differently when they realize their own history. It calls upon black folk culturally.

#### Black Power and self defense concepts

Most people in SNCC have rejected the idea of non-violence as a philosophy and in most cases are becoming critical of it as a tactic. They are saying--We black folk have a deep need to defend ourselves. Indeed we have an obligation. Black Consciousness carries with it the right of self-defense.

Frederick Douglass understood this more than a century ago. Reflecting on the time he turned on Covey, a cruel slave-breaker, and soundly thrashed him, Douglass writes, "This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning point in my career. I was a changed being after that fight. I was nothing before. I was a man now. I now resolved that however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed when I could be a slave in fact."

SNCC has not turned to advocating violence. Those who think this should realize that SNCC's emphasis on serious political organization is the opposite of advocacy of violence.

Effective, independent political organization may be the last, best, and only hope of avoiding violence as a means of attacking the racial situation in America.

### Black Power and the system

The foremost advocates of the Black Power concept maintain that for racism to die, a totally different system must be born.

Carmichael says that the society we seek to build among black people is not a capitalistic one. It is a society in which the spirit of the community and humanistic love prevail. We won't fight to save the existing society, in Viet Nam, or anywhere else. Our struggle for liberation is part of the great revolution sweeping the entire world--a revolution against all of the great white fathers in every nook and corner of this earth.

The colonies of the United States, and this includes the black ghettos within its borders--both North and South--must be liberated. The main highway to black liberation is through a revolution and galvanization of the people throughout the nation. Nothing short of this will achieve victory. We are just going to work in the way we see fit and on goals we define--not for civil rights, but for all our human rights.

Black Power and the building of new coalitions

Negroes as a minority will continue to need allies. A Negro movement based primarily on self-interest is a necessity but a Negro movement based exclusively on self-interest is doomed to failure.

As Carmichael says, "Until recently the struggle had to focus on the simple right to vote and organize. Now we are to the point where we can think about what to do with the vote."

It is rather obvious that in a country where Negroes represent only eleven per cent of the population and even in the South where Negroes constitute a majority in a limited number of counties only, that there must someday be coalitions with someone.

The question SNCC is asking at this point is coalition where, when, and with whom. It is saying that for a meaningful coalition to take place at least two conditions must exist. The people who have been powerless must create a power of their own or else there will be no coalition but only a situation in which they will be absorbed and controlled by those who have all the power. There must also be groups with kindred interests with whom to make a coalition.

We hope to see eventually a coalition between poor blacks and poor whites. This is the only coalition which seems acceptable to us. And we see such a coalition as the major internal instrument of change in a society.

Especially SNCC says white people must get to the task of organizing poor white people of the South who are also oppressed but who have been by-passed by the civil rights movement and thus left prey to their fears and to white racist groups and their propaganda.



propaganda:

Black Power advocates call for more than "pure and simple" participation in politics and black voting. It demands many things of black people--that they stop being ashamed of being black; that they move into a position where they can define what freedom is--what a white liberal is--what black nationalism is--what imperialism is--what power is. That they move to build a power base around the question of blackness, and that they move to build independent political, social, economic institutions that they can control and use as instruments of change.

The Negro lacks a network of unifying social traditions and this is why he must depend upon political action through color consciousness as the main instrument of solidarity. This solidarity entails a certain degree of separatism, but the separatism of a strengthened and enriched Negro community need be no more absolute than that, say, of a Jewish community. There is no reason, after all, why the Negro should not be able to live as most Americans do, in two worlds at once. One of them largely integrated and the other primarily separated.

#### SPLITS WITHIN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

It has been said and often repeated that it was the "Black Power slogan" which caused the split within the civil rights movement. However it should be clear by now that the cleavage within the movement goes much deeper than the mere slogan.

... differing attitudes and concepts which existed long before the slogan "Black Power" was projected on the Mississippi march last July.

The major reasons for the split in the movement are the existing differences around whether Negroes should remain a part of the old civil rights coalition and within the Democratic Party structure or whether the Negro masses should be called upon to develop more meaningful coalitions and move toward independent political action.

Whether Negroes should support or remain quiet about United States imperialism and the Viet Nam war or whether they should be called upon to resist the draft and help to bring the war to a halt.

Whether change should take place within the formal constitutional bounds of the racist capitalist system or whether change should be sought in the system itself.

Whether Negroes should pursue only passive non-violence in principle and tactics or whether non-violence should be supplemented with self-defense.

Whether Negroes should pursue solely an integrationist, or assimilationist goal as an immediate aim or whether or not the drive for total integration should be coupled with the building of black pride, consciousness, and unity buttressed by independent political and economic strength.

Differences in attitudes regarding leadership for the black people's movement and what role is to be played by the Negro masses and the methods and tactics to be used in the struggle has also contributed towards the split.

Generally, the leadership of the Urban League and the NAACP have aligned themselves with the civil rights coalition and the leadership of CORE and SNCC have become the spokesmen for the Negro revolution. Although differing on the role of non-violence, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, under Rev. Martin Luther King, joins CORE and SNCC in orienting toward the Negro masses rejecting imperialism and raising basic questions about the system. But, the alignment has not completely hardened. The last convention of the NAACP saw a major battle in which delegates successfully prevented the leadership from condemning the notion of Black Power and the movement's spokesmen.

All five of these groups are heavily influenced by their own different constituencies and sources of support.

WEAKNESSES OF THE BLACK POWER CONCEPTS AS PROJECTED BY ITS LEADING ADVOCATES UP TO THIS POINT

One weakness is the lack of a commonly accepted definition of the meaning of the Black Power slogan (or concept). At present this slogan means different things to different people and its interpretation depends on who is interpreting it.

The lack of a program for the movement is another. This includes the tendency to rely upon self-help programs within the Negro Community as the sole solution to the economic problems of the Negro masses. A program is the major factor around which Black Power can be realized in practice. It is through the relationship between the concrete, day-to-day needs and the long term goals that the masses will come to understand the need to

the economic and cultural fronts.

At present few Black Power advocates are able to make concrete suggestions when asked, "What should I do?" by activists in the various ghettos.

In spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Negro people are of the working class, and the foremost advocates of the Black Power concept are orienting in the direction of the masses there are already strong indications that the Negro movement may take the path of petit bourgeois Negro nationalism.

In fact, programmatic approaches, thus far, are basically petit bourgeois with the one exception of community cooperatives of which Carmichael says, "When we urge that black money go into black pockets, we mean the communal pocket. We want to see money go back into the community and used to benefit it. We want to see the cooperative concept applied in business and banking. We want to see black ghetto residents demand that an exploiting landlord or storekeeper sell them, at minimal cost, a building or a shop that they will own and improve cooperatively; they can back their demand with a rent strike, or a boycott, and a community so united behind them that no one else will move into the building or buy at the store."

*None of the recent speeches, articles, or books dealing with Black Power and the problems of Afro-Americans within the United States has had a clear recognition, to my knowledge, of the existence of social classes within the United States or the need to develop a class viewpoint and consciousness among the American working people--Negro or white.*

Kenneth Clark, in Dark Ghetto, says that the American Labor movement is basically a vehicle by which the working man seeks to realize his aspirations to be a boss. That is a refutation of the Marxian premise of categorical cleavages between economic classes. Carmichael states that Negroes are poor only because they are black.

To successfully combat the potential danger of the black movement developing along petit bourgeois lines it is necessary that the class viewpoint and interest of the working masses at all times remain decisive. To inject such consciousness into the Negro movement it will be necessary that its leading cadres be armed with an understanding of the national question from a working class point of view.

Such a class understanding is also necessary to the Negro movement as a guideline for determining which class of white America has interests which are basically opposed to theirs, and to determine which classes can be looked upon as potential allies in a joint struggle based upon their own self-interest, even though they will still be infected with notions of white supremacy which are common to all white people in America regardless of their social class.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN RELATION TO THIS WING OF THE NEGRO  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Marxism must view nationalism within the given historical setting, and decides what attitudes we should take toward it.

Nationalism in itself is not necessarily a negative development. It can be very positive depending upon who raises it, in what period, and what class interest it serves.

This growth of Negro nationalism is a reflection of Negro political maturity and it poses many new questions of theoretical and practical concern for the Negro freedom movement and for our Party. It poses a need for re-examining and up-dating our theoretical position on the Negro Question in the United States.

The national liberation struggles of today can no longer be appraised from the viewpoint of the bourgeois revolutions of the old world before World War I and the Russian October Revolution. Prior to that time the National question constituted a part of the world bourgeois democratic revolution; since then the national question has become a part of the world working class socialist revolution.

Therefore, national liberation movements must now exercise an independent role which objectively favors peace and the struggle against imperialism and the capitalist monopolies.

The struggle for political independence must enhance the struggle for economic and social well-being. Therefore, the national liberation movements must pay close attention to economic questions and their solution. They must elaborate both long term and short term economic programs and national liberation movements must combat imperialist and capitalist ideology among the masses; challenge red-baiting, and popularize scientific socialism.

challenge the existing, and popularize scientific socialism.

Need for a class approach toward the oppressed Negro people

For many years the socialist party held that the Negro question was solely a class issue, and it did not especially concern itself with such national outrages against the Negro people as lynchings, and other manifestations of jim-crow. On the other hand, we in the Party, tended to go to the opposite extreme. For a period of time, in theory in not in practice, we tended to think only in terms of a Negro nation and to underplay the class aspects of the Negro question. 10/10 7/10 11/10

The class composition of the Negro people is of decisive importance in determining their ideology and actions and must therefore constantly be borne in mind. The Party cannot work at maximum efficiency in the Negro field unless, together with questions of race and nation, it has a clear line and a full understanding of the importance of the class question to the Negro people.

As the Negro people reach greater political maturity they progressively differentiate themselves along class lines. It is now high time, therefore, that the Party overcome its traditional and harmful one-sidedness in its work and build a balanced Negro program. One in which the questions of race, class, and nation play their proper roles.

Along with the recent growth of black consciousness, there has also been in the past few years a growing consciousness of the existence of the poor within the United States and you might say a "poor people's consciousness" among the poor, and they have moved to start organizing.

The need is to further develop this consciousness and to link them up with class consciousness and to show both, why people are poor in the first place (especially in the richest country in the world). And also why a more equitable social system (Socialism) is needed in order to eliminate unemployment and poverty within the United States.

National liberation movements and oppressed people all over the world historically have put forth their own political slogans and demands. Black power is the slogan of the most politically advanced leaders of the oppressed Negro people. It is around this slogan that they seek to express both their political independence of monopoly capitalism and the organization of the Negro masses against their oppression.

The various substitute and counter slogans, i.e. "people's power," "human power," "black and white unity," etc. which have arisen in response to the "black power" slogan are no substitute for the black people's own slogans and should not be posed against their slogan.



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People's power, human power and other such slogans have legitimacy only within the framework of a proper recognition of the right of the oppressed Negro people to further their own independent organizations and development and the need for coalition relationships among all groupings whose common interest is served through joint struggle against monopoly capital and imperialism.

In the interest of international working class unity and solidarity it is the responsibility and obligation of the working class and progressive forces of the oppressor nation to support such slogans and demands. It is the primary responsibility of the working class and progressive forces within oppressed Negro people's movement to put forth the slogans and the demands for unity with the working class of the oppressor nations.

In this regard the lack of emphasis now placed upon integration by the black power advocates, should be interpreted only as applying to national and community development of the Negro masses and not to the American society as such. Economically speaking the Negro people are not only reliant upon, but are bound to the American economy as a whole. The struggle for Negro inclusion into the trade unions, the various shops the schools of higher learning, the political life of the country, etc. constitute the very basis upon which the struggle for unity between the oppressed Negro people and the broader American working class and progressive movements can be realized in practice.

The fact that the Negro people are primarily of the poor and of the working class means that the struggle for Negro liberation therefore, should not be directed against the white working class and the white poor who are also exploited but against the ruling class which exploits the poor Negro and white workers in common.

Within this framework, however, the Negro worker and the unemployed have every right to expect that no racist or discriminatory bars be placed in their path they seek full employment. Wherever any such anti-working class restrictions exist the Negro people have every right to organize their strength to level such bars. In doing so, they will be acting in the interests of the working class unity and in the best interest of the working class as a whole.

Against this background the question of building coalition relations and alliances should be approached as an on-going development, flowing from day-to-day struggles rather than through years of completely isolated separate struggles which will be followed by the sudden coalescing (on a certain date) of all the progressive, exploited and oppressed. Coalitions are built in struggle.

Marxism-Leninism should help to put more flesh and bone on the black power slogan, put more political and theoretical life into it, help to give it a Marxist-Leninist interpretation.

It should help to develop programs around which black power can be realized in practice--broaden and deepen its positive but too general concepts--offering a guideline around which the black masses can be mobilized in day-to-day struggles to improve their conditions of life.

It should help to impart to the movement not only class consciousness and class pride, but it should also work to bring trade-unionists from the ghetto and the farm workers into leadership of the movement. (There is a need for this especially in dealing with union discrimination rather than leaving this leadership to the petit bourgeois elements in the black community.)

## Organizationally

The Party should have a thorough examination of its forces and finances and release cadre (especially Negro cadres) to work more closely with the black movement in the heart of the ghettos,

A well thought out political and economic program should be developed and such a program should be buttressed with basic educational and ideological programs designed to reach and influence the ghettos' leading activists.

Discussion groups and classes should be started right in the heart of the black community.

Discussion guides should be prepared and teachers trained. Special attention should be given to training persons coming out of and well acquainted with the language, moods, and tones, of the black masses.

We should plan toward establishing book stores in the heart of the ghettos and publish our own short pamphlets dealing with both current issues and theoretical questions facing this wing of the Negro movement.

We should aim to make it possible (financially) for some of our Negro comrades to be on the scene carrying out this program on a day-to-day basis.

THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS AND AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM WILL DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS:

1. The Civil War was a democratic revolution, led by the capitalists. With the defeat of slavery, reconstruction brought an upsurge of revolutionary democracy to the South. This upsurge was beheaded and smashed by the former slave owners and the Northern capitalists who betrayed the revolutionary gains of the Civil War. This betrayal by the northern capitalists coincided with the emergence of the United States as an imperialist nation. Since that time the Dixiecrat system has been a Major pillar of U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism, giving it a substantial economic, political and ideological base for control of the nation. Would you agree or disagree with this estimation?
2. The 17th National Convention defined the Negro people in the following way: "Though a specially oppressed part of the American nation, the Negroes in the United States are not constituted as a separate nation. They have the characteristics of a racially distinctive people or nationality. They are a component part of the whole American nation which is itself a historically derived national formation, an amalgam of more or less well differentiated nationalities." If we would agree that the Negro question is not one of an oppressed nation fighting for national-state sovereignty does this diminish the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle in the United States?
3. The slogan of the Negro-Labor Alliance is quite often used. Is this a correct slogan? Does such an alliance exist? Can it be developed if it does not exist? How would you characterize or sloganize the basic coalition necessary to win Negro freedom as the essential path toward Socialism by the United States working class?

class?

4. The report will stress and give major emphasis to the struggle for Negro rights as the main effort in the struggle against white chauvinism. Is this a correct approach?

5. It is said that we do not have chauvinists in the Party, but that we do have people who are influenced by chauvinist ideas. Is this correct?

6. Can white workers be won to a struggle for Negro rights while they still retain their chauvinist ideas?

7. What are your ideas about the situation in San Francisco where the Labor movement opposed the fair hiring ordinance and supported the effort to nullify the contracts won by Ad Hoc Committee in the Palace sit-in struggles?

8. The program of action will center on the following issues:

1. The fight for jobs both against the discriminatory practices of unions and employers as well as for the creation of new jobs.

2. The fight for Negro representation in the Municipal elections in 1967, and for at least one new Negro congressman from this area by 1968.

3. Economic and related issues:

--Welfare

--Education

--Housing

Do you feel that these are the key issues for mass struggle?

9. The Alameda County election results pose a seeming contradiction:

In 1964 the county-wide vote on proposition 14, for the repeal of the Rumford Fair Housing law was 60% for repeal and 40% against repeal.

In the 1966 elections, in the midst of a so-called white "backlash", Rumford received 50% of the votes in the same area. The report from the vote recount showed that in his main base, the 17th district, that in each precinct from 30 to 40 voters did not vote for the office of state senator. This would indicate that for the entire county Rumford received a very strong vote from white workers. How would you explain this contradiction of the failure to vote in the 17th of such a large number of people and the relative high vote in the white areas for the author of the Rumford law?

10. In Congress an all-out effort is being made to destroy Adam Clayton Powell politically, and in San Francisco the national War on Poverty office is attempting to seriously discredit the local council of the War on Poverty. This council is the only one in any major city which is controlled in its majority by the poverty area people, the director is Negro. Those making the attacks claim that their only concern is corruption in office. What really is involved in these attacks?

11. What is the relationship of racism to the present foreign policy of the Johnson Administration and the ultra-right?

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B. Other Communist Groups

1. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at district and lower level meetings, including expressions of leaders and other functionaries

Mrs. [redacted] of the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (NCCPFB), 942 Market Street, San Francisco, had offered the services of this Committee to California Negro Assemblyman WILLIE BROWN to help persons who were arrested during the rioting in San Francisco in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas during September, 1966.

SF T-9, 11/1/66

See appendix for characterization of the NCCPFB.

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The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in the East Bay held an educational at 2005 Milvia Street, Berkeley, California, for the purpose of hearing taped recordings of MALCOLM X on the subject of "Black Power and Permanent Revolution". A series of three educational classes was scheduled to be held by the YSA. [redacted] of the Berkeley YSA, spoke about MALCOLM X and the progress of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on the Negro question. The first session was held October 7, 1966.

SF T-10, 10/11/66

See appendix for characterization of the YSA.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the U. S. pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The second session of educational forums sponsored by the YSA was held at 127 Dwinelle Hall on the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) campus on November 11, 1966. Those present listened to a tape-recorded speech by MALCOLM X entitled "Message to the Grass Roots".

The third session of educational classes sponsored by the YSA was held at 127 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, on November 18, 1966, to hear a taped speech by MALCOLM X entitled "The Ballot or the Bullet".

A fourth educational class sponsored by the YSA was held at 127 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, on December 2, 1966, to hear taped recordings by MALCOLM X on the subject "Prospects for Freedom for the Negro in 1967".

SF T-10, 12/4/66

A meeting of members of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was held in Chicago, Illinois, on October 28, 1966. The members holding this discussion were reported as [redacted] and [redacted]. During this discussion [redacted] said that in the San Francisco Bay Area the only DuBois club which is functioning actively is a Negro youth club operating in Oakland, California. He identified organizers of this club as [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] stated these three persons, together with a group called "The Sons of SOUL" from Merritt Junior College, Oakland, California, operated a freedom school during a recent boycott of Oakland schools. According to [redacted] these persons were involved in stimulating riot activity recently in Oakland, California, along with [redacted] of NCDPC organizer MICKEY LIMA, and friends of hers.

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SF T-11, 11/2/66

See appendix for characterization of the DCA.

The National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC) distributed in the San Francisco Bay Area a letter announcing the intention of the HUAC to investigate uprisings of Negroes in Negro ghettos of the north. The letter charged that a preliminary investigation had already been under way. It was charged that any investigation by the HUAC could only "muddy" the understanding of these problems and dangerously feed discriminatory practices with its prejudgment of "red agitation" as the cause of the uprisings. It asked the recipients of the letter to join the NCAHUAC and to make contributions to the organization.

A leaflet enclosed with the letter stated, "We don't want HUAC in Hunters Point or Oakland and call upon Congressmen and public officials to stop the HUAC announced investigation of uprisings in northern ghettos." The leaflet charged that the Committee was led by white southern racists conducting an inquisition in black ghettos which would be farcical on its face if it were not so explosive. The statement is quoted as follows:

"HUAC's history -- as a bulwark of segregation providing libel-free accusations against such civil rights leaders as the Rev. Martin Luther King, as the conductor of the ill-fated KKK 'investigation' that failed to deal seriously with the problems of Southern violence -- suggests that its investigation can only be a rigged investigation whose purpose is to feed the white backlash. Serious analyses of the social discontent that has caused the uprisings is needed by our society, not the superficial labelling that attributes them as the product of 'subversive' ideas. Any HUAC hearings will only muddy American understanding of our problems and explosively fan the flames of revolt in the urban ghettos.

"Although we may have disagreements among us over the tactics and strategy of the fight for racial justice in America, we are united in our belief that no governmental body such as HUAC should meddle with the civil rights movement's right of self-determination."

SF T-12, 11/11/66

See appendix for characterization of the NCAHUAC.

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## II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

### A. San Francisco Riots, September, 1966

The San Mateo CP Club held a meeting on October 7, 1966, at 352 Bancroft Way, Pacifica, California. At this meeting there was a discussion among the club members of the rioting in San Francisco and the part the CP had in the rioting. It was indicated that there were very few CP people actually engaged in the Hunters Point rioting but were on the fringes of the rioting. Club member [ ] said it was regrettable that the police shot an unarmed youth. However, club member [ ] stated he believed the parents should raise their children to respect and observe the law and this should have been done. Other club members, however, disagreed with this viewpoint. [ ] stated she had gone to the funeral of the boy who was killed and stated there was a Negro man at the funeral who had told others he had given several Negro youths wine and whiskey so they would start racial incidents and he could take advantage of the rioting by looting stores and then selling the loot.

SF T-7, 10/10/66

A meeting of the Miscellaneous Industrial Club of the CP of San Francisco was held at 1298 Haight Street, San Francisco, on October 11, 1966. During this meeting the chairman of the club, [ ] said he would like to hear comments from members regarding what they thought about the recent racial riots in September, 1966, at Hunters Point. [ ] told those present he thought Mayor JOHN F. SHELLEY had done a good job and it took a lot of "guts" for the mayor to make the speech on television regarding the riots. [ ] said through his contacts with CP leaders it had been decided the Party would not go out into the riot area and become involved. He stated the County Committee would draft a statement regarding the riot situation. [ ] made the remark that it takes something such as the riots in Los Angeles and San Francisco before officials will really try to do something for underprivileged people. There was a general discussion concerning [ ]'s remarks and many of the club members agreed with what he had to say.

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SF T-13, 10/27/66

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION  
AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL  
AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A meeting of the CP Political Committees of Sonoma and Marin Counties was held at 1700 Chapman Lane, Petaluma, California, on October 13, 1966. ROSCOE PROCTOR was chairman of this meeting and he advised those present that there was a new organization known as the Committee for New Politics (CNP) being set up in San Francisco. He remarked that he thought this organization made a big mistake by not having Negro and labor support. There was a discussion concerning support for former Governor EDMUND G. BROWN and PROCTOR told those present he tried to get the CNP not to support an anti-BROWN resolution because the Negro and labor groups would be supporting Governor BROWN in his election and the CNP needs these two groups to have political power in California. [redacted] stated the CNP should organize with Negroes and labor and not wait until they were organized and then ask Negroes and labor to come in and join them.

SF T-3, 10/13/66

There is a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chapter at San Jose, California. The leadership of this CORE chapter has changed considerably. The chapter has a large membership list, however most of the people on this list have not been active with CORE since they signed on as members. The effective membership numbers approximately 25 persons and most of the members are Negroes. There are CP members in the CORE chapter but they do not figure in the leadership of the group. They are present only to capitalize on the successes of the organization but do not wish to be responsible for tactical failures in the group. There are six CP members in the San Jose area that belong to the San Jose Chapter of CORE.

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SF T-14, 11/19-21/66

It was reported that ALBERT J. LIMA, ROSCOE PROCTOR and [redacted] were scheduled to meet at the home of ROSCOE PROCTOR in Oakland, California, to discuss Negro matters, and particularly the subject of "black power" and the part the Negro community can play in the CP peace program and what

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relationship the CP should have with the new organization called Committee for New Politics concerning Negro and peace matters.

SF T-3, 11/7/66

At a meeting of the Fillmore Club of the CP of San Francisco held November 30, 1966, it was announced that Fillmore Club members [redacted] and AL THIBODEAUX had been involved in civil rights work, working with the San Francisco Chapter of CORE and the Freedom House in the Fillmore District.

SF T-15, 12/1/66

There is a chapter of the Southern Alameda County CORE (SACORE) in Alameda, California. [redacted] a CP member in Alameda County, is chairman of this organization and he was promoting "Negro History Week" in the Hayward, California area.

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SF T-3, 12/16/66

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the advocate of "black power", appeared at Roosevelt High School, San Jose, California, on November 19, 1966. [redacted] a San Jose minority group leader, read a prepared speech praising CARMICHAEL'S cause. CARMICHAEL'S speech was short, lasting about 20 minutes, but it was reported he spoke concisely and directly. His most dynamic comment was one in which he referred to his attitude toward his Selective Service Board. He commented he would welcome some time in prison during which he could read and prepare for his future role in the cause he now pursues. A question and answer period followed CARMICHAEL'S speech but the questions put forward by what appeared to be people sympathetic to CARMICHAEL'S ideas were answered by CARMICHAEL in a bragging manner. The audience was quite well balanced racially and there did not appear to be an overwhelming majority of either Negroes or whites. Many members of the San Jose State College Students for a Democratic Society were present.

SF T-16, 11,19/66

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"STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY is an association of young people on the left..., one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right.

Preamble, SDS  
Constitution"

During the 1965 National Convention of the SDS, the Preamble of the Constitution was amended to eliminate "counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right."

SDS Worklist  
No. 14, 7/28/65



NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH  
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film, 'Operation Abolition', Part 1, October 3, 1961, P. 5)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27, and 28, 1963.

A second source advised on May 9, 1966, that as of that date the NCAHUAC continued to function with headquarters at 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE  
FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 131-132 concerning the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born:

1. Cited as a "regional" organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. "The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; the representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations.

"Control of the local organizations \*\*\* was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local groups were Communist Party members and therefore subject to the discipline of the party.\*\*\* The local affiliates \*\*\* were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas."

The Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had headquarters in San Francisco. "The executive secretary was Mrs. [REDACTED], a former member of the State central committee of the Communist Party of California."

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(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp 86, 87, 33, 34 and 64)

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938 and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on April 22, 1966, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

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A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later state in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The Source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised April 28, 1966, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of three locals: the San Francisco YSA, the Berkeley YSA, and the San Jose YSA.

The first source advised on April 28, 1966, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

January 26, 1967

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

SF 100-53902

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span> dated and captioned as above at San Francisco, California

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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